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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government  
Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A  
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS  
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND  
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and

(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY  
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS  
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND  
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,  
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE  
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

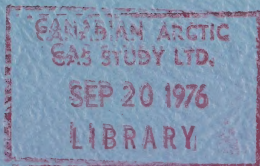
September 16, 1976.

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PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

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Volume 186







APPEARANCES:

- Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,  
Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,  
Mr. Alick Ryder, and  
Mr. Ian Roland, for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;
- Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,  
Mr. Jack Marshall,  
Mr. Darryl Carter, and  
Mr. J.T. Steeves, for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited;
- Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,  
Mr. Alan Hollingworth, and  
Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;
- Mr. Russell Anthony,  
Prof. Alastair Lucas and  
Mr. Garth Evans, for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee;
- Mr. Glen W. Bell and  
Mr. Gerry Sutton, for Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories;
- Mr. John Bayly and  
Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement;
- Mr. Ron Veale and  
Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon Indians;
- Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection Board;
- Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C., for Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce;
- Mr. Murray Sigler and  
Mr. David Reesor, for The Association of Municipalities;
- Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial, Shell & Gulf);
- Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association of the Northwest Territories.

CANADIAN ARCTIC  
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1 Yellowknife, N.W.T.

2 September 16, 1976.

3 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

4 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,  
5 we're ready to proceed this morning.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Before you  
7 proceed, the proceedings yesterday were very, very  
8 lengthy -- useful, but it was a long sitting, and I  
9 think that it's fitting that I should say a word of  
10 thanks to the official Court reporters and the typists  
11 and the printers because they delivered to us this  
12 morning a 300-page transcript of yesterday's evidence  
13 and to do that they had to be up most of the night,  
14 and I think it's a remarkable achievement and one that  
15 we're inclined to take for granted as the hearings  
16 go along. So I think that it's appropriate that I  
17 should say something about the work of these -- this  
18 group under Mr. Bemister's direction. They have  
19 really done a first-class job throughout the  
20 proceedings, and to whom we're all grateful.

21 MR. SCOTT: And if any visitors  
22 today don't know who the Court reporters are, they are  
23 the people with the bags under their eyes.

24 MR. STEEVES: There's a stranger  
25 in our midst, I would like to introduce Mr. Gerry  
26 Ziskrout, that's Z-I-S-K-R-O-U-T, who will be associa-  
27 ted with me for the balance of the hearing.

28 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,  
29 last week as part of our responsibilities as Commission  
30 counsel, we filed last week or the week before a report



Basham, Braden  
In Chief

prepared by Gemini North Limited for the Department  
of Indian & Northern Affairs, entitled:

"Trade Unions in Canada and the Northern  
Resident,"

and sub-titled:

"A Review of Union Practices & Institutional  
Circumstances Relating to Potential Northern  
Resident Participation in Pipeline Project  
Employment & Training."

Having filed that, we indicated to the participants  
at the hearing that if anybody wished to ask any  
questions of its authors we would make arrangements  
to have them brought forward, not as Commission  
counsel witnesses, but as the authors of that parti-  
cular report.

Mr. Bayly indicated to us that  
he wished to ask some questions about it and conse-  
quently I'm able to introduce the authors. On your  
right, sir, Frank Basham, and on your left, George  
Braden, and what I propose to do, the report having  
been filed, is to qualify these gentlemen to ask them  
some -- to ask them to summarize in very short form  
the thrust of the report and then to permit Mr.  
Bayly and others who wish to examine them to do so,  
if that's satisfactory.

FRANK BASHAM,

GEORGE BRADEN, sworn:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Mr. Basham, I take it





Basham, Braden  
In Chief

1  
2 that you're presently the vice-president of Gemini  
3 North, an economic consulting firm with offices  
4 in Yellowknife, Calgary, and Vancouver.

5 WITNESS BASHAM: That's  
6 correct.

7 Q Yes, and that before  
8 that you were from 1969 to 1970, an industrial  
9 development program officer with the Government of the  
10 Northwest Territories, responsible for appraisal  
11 techniques and evaluation of proposed or active  
12 industrial development projects in the Territories.

13 A Yes.

14 Q And that from 1967 to  
15 1969 you were an economist with the Canada Department  
16 of Energy, Mines & Resources in the Policy & Planning  
17 Branch, assigned to various projects.

18 A Yes.

19 Q Yes, and that you're a  
20 graduate of the University of Victoria in mathematics  
21 and economics with a Bachelor of Arts and a graduate  
22 of the University of Alberta, regional and resource  
23 economics, with a Master of Arts.

24 A That's correct, yes.

25 Q Now, you have filed a  
26 curriculum vitae with your publications and reports  
27 and other information as to your background, revealing  
28 that you belong to, among other things, to the profes-  
29 sional associations everybody seems to belong to.  
30 I'd ask, Mr. Commissioner, that that curriculum vitae





Basham, Braden  
In Chief

1  
2 might be made an exhibit.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

4 MR. SCOTT: Q And Mr. Basham,  
5 as I understand it, you were in charge of the project  
6 that produced the report, the title of which I've  
7 already given.

8 A That is correct.

9 Q Yes. Mr. Braden, I  
10 understand that you're a graduate of the University of  
11 Alberta with a Bachelor of Arts in political science.

12 WITNESS BRADEN: That's  
13 correct.

14 Q And you're presently  
15 awaiting your Master of Arts degree from Dalhousie  
16 University.

17 A That's correct.

18 Q And that you were  
19 employed by Gemini North as a research assistant  
20 in the preparation of the report, the title of which  
21 I've given.

22 A That's correct.

23 Q And since the completion  
24 of that work you have been employed with the Government  
25 of the Northwest Territories, Department of Economic  
26 Development & Tourism.

27 A That's correct.

28 Q Yes.  
29  
30



Braden, Basham  
In Chief

1 THE COMMISSIONER: I think  
2 they've handled those questions well.

3 MR. SCOTT: They've done  
4 not too badly so far. I'm just warming them up  
5 for Mr. Bayly. Now, Mr. Basham, I understand that  
6 before this project you and your company had been  
7 engaged in the study for the Department of Indian  
8 and Northern Affairs on the subject of Alaska  
9 Native Participation on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline  
10 Project.

WITNESS BASHAM:

11 A Yes, that's correct.

12 Q And as a result of  
13 doing that work, you made certain observations  
14 about the critical role that trade unions,  
15 international or national, played in determining  
16 entry into the work force, training for the work  
17 force and the filling of employment opportunities.

18 A Yes.

19 Q And as a result, your  
20 company was asked to prepare a report which is before  
21 us for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

22 A That's not strictly  
23 speaking correct, sir. We suggested to the  
24 Department of Indian and Northern Affairs that a  
25 very useful project should be an examination of  
26 Canadian trade unions with respect to the problems  
27 that we identified in Alaska and we scrambled around  
28 for funding to undertake that work. They did not  
29 ask us to do it as a consulting research exercise.

30 Q Well, that candid





Braden, Basham  
In Chief

1 observation is to your credit. You got them to pay  
2 for it.

3 A Yes, we did.

4 Q All right. I take it  
5 that the objectives of the report are set out on  
6 page two and let me simply read them.

7 One, to review aspects of  
8 trade union practices on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline  
9 systems which relate to recruitment, training and  
10 employment of Alaska natives in order to draw  
11 implications for proposed Canadian pipeline projects.

12 Two, to identify Canadian  
13 locals of the international unions which would be  
14 involved in northern pipeline construction and  
15 operation.

16 Three, to examine trade  
17 union practices and requirements relating to entrance,  
18 eligibility, training, membership, dispatch and  
19 union contractor relationships in terms of potential  
20 implications for northern resident participation.

21 Four, to evolve implications  
22 and recommendations pertinent to plan a project  
23 specific northern manpower delivery system for  
24 possible construction permit stipulations.

25 A Those are the objectives,  
26 yes.

27 Q And at the back of the  
28 report, beginning at page 82 or thereabouts, you have  
29 set out the conclusions and recommendations  
30 responsive to those objectives in some detail.



Braden, Basham  
In Chief

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A Yes.

Q Well, now let me just deal with them in a very general way so that all will know the thrust of your report. I take it that one of the central recommendations is your proposal that a co-operatively planned and co-ordinated northern manpower delivery system be created and implemented for the purpose of facilitating the entry into the market of northern residents.

A Yes, that's correct.

Q And you call that, for the purposes of this report, M. D. S. or manpower delivery system?

A Yes.

Q And I understand from the report that that is an agency, as you conceive it, which would involve on a co-operative or on a stipulated basis, representatives of owners or applicants, representatives of the unions, representatives of the government that assumes responsibility for employment, representatives of manpower and representatives of native and other interest groups in the community.

A Yes.

Q And that its function would include, as you have set out of page 84, the development of an information bank in essence which would make existing employment opportunities known in the communities which would assist in recruitment





Braden, Basham  
In Chief

1 and outreach programs in those communities which would  
2 gather and screen and refer applications for  
3 employment to appropriate unions and would, as you  
4 say, track down applicants; that is find applicants  
5 who were capable of filling job opportunities that  
6 became available on the project.  
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Basham, Braden  
In Chief

1  
2 A The information function  
3 is more of a function than it is an information bank.

4 Q So that a central office  
5 of M.D.S. --

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,  
7 Mr. Scott. I didn't understand that.

8 A Mr. Scott referred to  
9 an information bank as such, which I believe is a  
10 pile of information, but we perceived of the informa-  
11 tion aspect of this program as a function, a program  
12 which would disseminate information on jobs, training  
13 requirements, and how you go about getting a job and  
14 how you go about getting into a union to do the job.

15 MR. SCOTT: Q And as I under-  
16 stand the scheme that you propose, it would leave the  
17 unions in Edmonton or some other outside community and  
18 it would act as an intermediary between the unions  
19 in that location, and manpower or other hiring  
20 officers in the communities and would in effect be  
21 a clearing house for job applicants and job positions.

22 A Yes, that's correct.

23 Q With the objective that  
24 the unions in essence would not have to come north  
25 per se and job applicants would not have to leave their  
26 communities until a meld of applicant and job spots  
27 had been achieved.

28 A Yes, that's correct.

29 Q Your proposal is that  
30 at the community level you could utilize for that





Basham, Braden  
In Chief

1 purpose either existing job placement offices or new  
2 or beefed up offices run by existing agencies.

3 A Yes, it would utilize  
4 existing employment offices in the communities  
5 operated by Territorial Government and/or Canada  
6 Manpower, and supplement those resources where  
7 necessary.

8 Q Well now, also in your  
9 report you deal with particular responsibilities that  
10 would be imposed on trade unions as a result of this  
11 scheme, one of which would be a co-operative effort  
12 to identify those trades that are most consistent with  
13 potential long-term employment opportunities in the  
14 Mackenzie Valley with the general objective of trying  
15 to match applicants in the communities with job  
16 opportunities on the project that hold the best chance  
17 of providing long-term as opposed to short-term job  
18 opportunities.

19 A Yes.

20 Q For example, as I  
21 understand the thrust of your report, it seemed to you  
22 more desirable that an applicant from let us say  
23 Good Hope should be matched with a job, if there were  
24 two jobs available, it would be in the best interests  
25 of all if he could be matched with a job that is more  
26 likely to provide employment opportunities beyond the  
27 construction period than one which will simply provide  
28 a job opportunity during the construction project.

29 A Yes. If we have any  
30 degree of control over where he goes, yes, that would



Basham, Braden  
In Chief

1 be the case; but I believe that I think that perhaps  
2 we shouldn't attempt to coerce an individual into not  
3 taking a pipeline job if he just wants to make a lot of  
4 dollars. In the last resort, it's up to the individual  
5 to decide whether he wants long-term employment benefits  
6 or short-term cash.

7 Q Now, I'm not going to  
8 take you through them in detail because they're contained  
9 in your report, but I take it that you also stipulated  
10 programs that in your judgment were desirable in terms  
11 of educating applicants with respect to the functions  
12 of trade unions, the operation and opportunities that  
13 trade unions offer, programs with respect to recruitment  
14 and entry, and programs with respect to training.

15 A Yes.

16 Q Without taking you  
17 through it in detail, I take it what your report does  
18 is it attempts to establish a model for a manpower  
19 delivery system which will leave the trade unions  
20 out, located where they are now, outside the Northwest  
21 Territories, will not require applicants in the  
22 Northwest Territories to leave their communities  
23 until they are employed, which will give a positive  
24 preference to northern residents as you've defined it  
25 in the report, and which will, where possible, take  
26 advantage of existing agencies or facilities and where  
27 not possible, will develop the minimum amount of  
28 superstructure required to do the job.

29 A Hopefully, yes.

30 Q And all that is a model





Basham, Braden  
In Chief

1 or scheme that is designed to -- which is restricted  
2 to construction and construction-related aspects of  
3 the project.

4 A That's correct, yes.

5 Q With respect to this  
6 model, have you any views as to the time frame that  
7 would be necessary to plan for it to establish it, to  
8 get it in running order before it will be required to  
9 produce applicants for actual job slots?

10 A Yes, we have recommended  
11 in the report that one year prior to initiation of  
12 construction, that the agency be functional, and in  
13 operation. In order for the agency to be functional  
14 or in operation one year prior to construction, it would  
15 be necessary to precede that by probably something in  
16 the order of one year, so if you're looking at con-  
17 struction and initiation let's say in 1980, then  
18 presumably it would be two years before that that  
19 planning to organize a manpower delivery system would  
20 start. So 1978, just using hypothetical dates;  
21 there's nothing magic with the numbers, but I would  
22 think it would take about a year to get everybody  
23 together and then at least a year of operation of the  
24 agency before it could become a functional delivery  
25 system.

26  
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Braden, Basham  
In Chief  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q I take it that the  
2 condition upon which that time frame is practical  
3 is that at least one year before commencement of the  
4 project, the applicant or construction company must  
5 be able to delineate with precision the job  
6 requirements of the project.

7 A Yes, that's a very  
8 necessary requisite.

9 Q And that, of course,  
10 has not, as far as you know, been done yet?

11 A As far as I know, that's  
12 correct, yes.

13 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Bayly, if  
14 you want to begin your cross-examination.

15 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

16 MR. BAYLY: On page four  
17 of your report you state that you were not able to  
18 contact all of the unions and there were some that  
19 chose not to participate. Could you tell me which  
20 ones you did not contact and as well, which ones  
21 did not choose to participate.

22 WITNESS BASHAM: I can tell  
23 you the ones immediately that chose not to participate  
24 but I cannot tell you, without consulting my files  
25 and my interview records, which ones were not  
26 contacted. I'm sorry. The one which chose not  
27 to participate was the Teamsters Union. It could  
28 have been for logistical reasons or otherwise. They  
29 had ample opportunity to do so. They have not  
30 responded to our request for their assistance.





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 I'm sorry I don't--and also  
2 because of the great number of agencies, great  
3 number of unions involved, there is something like  
4 fifteen to eighteen unions, we were not able to  
5 physically get around to see everybody personally  
6 or to distribute questionnaires or whatever with those  
7 people.

8 Q Out of the fifteen or  
9 eighteen, can you give me an approximate number of  
10 those that you were unable to contact?

11 A No, I cannot. I'm  
12 sorry. I could take the question under advisement  
13 and give you an exact answer.

14 Q Would you do that?

15 MR. SCOTT: I should explain,  
16 Mr. Commissioner, we asked these gentlemen to come  
17 here at Mr. Bayly's request on very short notice and  
18 I undertook to them that I was certain he would be  
19 satisfied that if there were any questions of detail  
20 that he has, that they're unable to answer, that  
21 their undertaking to provide an answer would be  
22 adequate.

23 MR. BAYLY: I'm prepared to  
24 accept that and I'm grateful that these people have  
25 come at such short notice, Mr. Commissioner. If this  
26 information can be supplied to me and to the Commission  
27 by a letter, I would be grateful.

28 On page four, under your  
29 qualifications of your report, you state in the fourth  
30 paragraph a number of prerequisites with regard to



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 land claims and what I'm not clear on from that  
2 paragraph; are you suggesting that the land claims  
3 must be settled first for your research to have  
4 validity? That is for your forecasts of whether or  
5 not native people will join in the project in any  
6 numbers?

7 A No, I'm not suggesting  
8 that in the qualifications.

9 Q What does the  
10 qualification refer to then?

11 A The qualification refers  
12 to the fact that the form and substance of the  
13 land claim was not known to us at the time the  
14 presentation of this report and without--we were not  
15 able to anticipate any political aspect of the land  
16 claim and therefore, we had to assume that judgments  
17 that were made with respect to say government agency  
18 responsibilities, as they now exist, were going to  
19 be carried on over time.

20 Q Would it be fair to  
21 say that you put it to one side for the purpose of  
22 doing this because it was an unknown?

23 A Yes, that's true.

24 Q On page eleven, you  
25 indicate that it is uncertain if unions will be  
26 present during operations and maintenance and you  
27 described various options or possibilities and that's  
28 under 2.2.

29 Now, of these options you  
30 discuss; a union operation, non-union operation or an





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 industrial or building trade union. Do you have any  
2 forecasts on what you think is the most probable  
3 of the options, having had a look at Alaska?

4 A I think the most  
5 probable of the options may well be no union  
6 involvement in operations and maintenance of the  
7 pipeline facility.

8 WITNESS BRADEN: If I can  
9 interject, I think in Alaska the Teamsters have  
10 become quite involved in organizing staff of  
11 Alyeska and they haven't quite reached the O & M  
12 phase yet, so it's hard to make some comment on what's  
13 happened in Alaska in that context, but the Teamsters  
14 are involved right now in, as I said, organizing  
15 the office staff of Alyeska.

16 Q From either the point  
17 of view of whether the operation and maintenance would  
18 go more smoothly or whether the workers would be  
19 either more satisfied or better protected, do you  
20 have any recommendation as to whether operations  
21 and maintenance should or should not be unionized?

22 WITNESS BASHAM: No.  
23 I guess we should point out though that there is  
24 some precedent in Canada for organizing O & M  
25 associated with compressor stations and plants and  
26 some processing facilities within the petroleum  
27 industry, although in Canada at the moment, it seems  
28 to be more the rule than the exception that those  
29 functions are not union functions.

30 Q Is that through the



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union?

2 A That is one such union.

3 Yes.

4 Q But I take it that there  
5 are pipelines that are operated in Canada without  
6 unions as well?

7 THE COMMISSIONER: That's  
8 the rule. There aren't unions operating pipelines.  
9 I think you misunderstood.

10 MR. BAYLY: My understanding  
11 was that they weren't unionized but I wasn't clear  
12 from that last answer.

13 A Yes, I think that I said  
14 that it was the rule, rather than the exception, but  
15 there may be isolated cases in pipeline operation  
16 where this is the case but I'm not aware of them.

17 I think somebody told us  
18 during the course of this work that there was one  
19 operation that they had come in contact with that  
20 was unionized but I can't recall what the situation  
21 was.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: There's  
23 no doubt about that. The companies that gave evidence  
24 at our delta phase and Mr. Reimer, the President of  
25 the Oil Workers Union was here last week. It's clear  
26 that this is an unorganized industry so far as oil  
27 and gas pipelines are concerned for operation and  
28 maintenance and the gas plants appear to be largely  
29 unorganized. The oil refineries are organized.

30 The construction phase though



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 of oil and gas pipelines is highly organized as you  
2 discovered.





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 MR. BAYLY: With regard to  
2 the construction as opposed to the operation and  
3 maintenance, you make the statement at page 14 that  
4 entry into unions is considered important insofar as  
5 this will guarantee qualified northern residents some  
6 priority and dispatch over members in the south. I  
7 take it, though, from your comments farther on in the  
8 paper that you're concerned that union membership is  
9 not enough, and in the absence of special legislation  
10 to guarantee some sort of preference for northern  
11 workers, the unions by themselves are unlikely to  
12 guarantee that.

13 A Yes, I think that's a  
14 fair statement. Why we said that union membership  
15 is a requisite to getting priority dispatch on the  
16 job is because we found out that there were local  
17 hire provisions in the standard collective agreements  
18 and it's a matter of exercising those rights in  
19 the case of the northern union member. We've been  
20 given to understand by union people that we've talked  
21 to, that if there is a bona fide member within the  
22 Northwest Territories or within the District of  
23 Mackenzie who is, say for example, a carpenter, and  
24 a member of the Carpenters Union, that he will be  
25 dispatched on a priority basis to the job. That's,  
26 we understand that that is a provision of the standard  
27 collective agreements which now exist between con-  
28 tractors and unions in that particular activity.

29 Q I'll be coming into the  
30 legislation portion a little later and asking you some



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 questions about that; but at the moment when you talk  
2 about bona fide northern residents, I understand you  
3 do so with the realization that none of the unions  
4 seem to be able to agree with the others as to what  
5 that definition should be.

6 A Yes.

7 Q Now, on page 24 you  
8 have stated that:

9 "In Alaska applicants for jobs, in particular  
10 native peoples who apply for jobs, have a poor  
11 understanding or a limited interest in some  
12 of the trades to which they have applied,"  
13 and it appears that they are going to unions such as  
14 the laborers and the Teamsters as opposed to the ones  
15 where there is a longer training period.

16 A Yes.

17 Q Now, do you see that as  
18 something that is going to happen in Canada, or is  
19 there a way to steer people to more skilled jobs that  
20 you would recommend?

21 A Maybe I could ask Mr.  
22 Braden to comment on that because he did the field  
23 work in Alaska on this project.

24 WITNESS BRADEN: With respect  
25 to Canada and the labor force we have in the Northwest  
26 Territories, as Frank mentioned earlier I don't  
27 think governments should get involved in telling people  
28 that they must get involved in a training program of  
29 some sort and that they should stay away from the  
30 short-term job where they can earn a lot of money.





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

But I think perhaps through some initial counselling and what we term, I think what we term in here as an experience equivalency examination it could be possible to identify perhaps two or three skills in an individual's background which could be pursued on the pipeline in terms of training. For example, an may have worked in the carpentry area but on an informal basis for a long period of time. Now, an experience equivalency examination could indicate that this person could be at the second year apprentice level, and if he so chooses, he could be directed into that area to upgrade his particular skill.

Q You stated at the bottom of that page 24, as well that some of the agency officials that you interviewed indicated that some unions had been unco-operative and that some union procedures tended to complicate recruitment and entry. In your opinion did this have anything to do why people steered themselves into the laborers and the Teamsters as opposed to some of the trade unions with more complicated qualifications and entry requirements?

WITNESS BASHAM:

A Well, they'd stay away from the Tulsa 798ers, I guess.

Q Is that because they were discouraging people from joining up with them? They're a pretty closed union.

A That's what we state in our report, yes.

Q And is that the --



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A I don't think that that  
2 maybe the case with all of the unions, but it was  
3 observed to be the case with that particular union.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: I'm sorry,  
5 I missed that. What union was that?

6 A The Teamsters Union.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, I see.

8 WITNESS BRADEN: Referring  
9 to the Teamsters Union as the 798ers.

10 WITNESS BASHAM: I'm sorry,  
11 correction, the United Association of Plumbers &  
12 Pipefitters Union, the welders are a special group  
13 within it.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

15 A I'm sorry, I made an  
16 error.

17 Q You're referring to the  
18 welders?

19 A Yes.

20 Q Isn't there a reason,  
21 though, for their not encouraging new membership from  
22 native Alaskans as it's unlikely that any native  
23 Alaskan is qualified to work as a welder on the pipe-  
24 line or could become qualified during the life of the  
25 pipeline project? Is that a fair observation?  
26 Just so that this particular local doesn't come out  
27 too bad, I'm sure it doesn't matter.

28 A The U.A. or the United  
29 Association of Plumbers & Pipefitters have told us  
30 that pipeline welding is a very specialized craft and



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 it requires a lot of training and a lot of experience,  
2 and ironically it is not an indentured trade, which  
3 means that it is not a formalized -- there is no  
4 formalized process to progress to the journeyman level  
5 within that trade, as is the case with some of the  
6 other construction trades.

7 Q The Pipeline Advisory  
8 Council was here last week and in their brief they  
9 said that there are only so many people who could  
10 become good welders and out of those there are only  
11 a very limited number who can master this very special  
12 art or skill. I may have been overstating the case,  
13 but they certainly left us with the impression -- Mr.  
14 St. Eloi was here too -- that you just can't  
15 take people off the street and expect them to learn  
16 how to do this on the job. In fact, they don't train  
17 them on the job.

18 MR. BAYLY: I always seem to  
19 get lured into the pipeline welders, and I'd like to  
20 know if there are other unions that are included in  
21 your statement that some have been unco-operative?  
22 I don't mean unco-operative in meeting you, I mean  
23 unco-operative in encouraging people to become members  
24 or setting up procedures to become members that dis-  
25 courage people, particularly people who were native to  
26 Alaska.

27 WITNESS BRADEN: The whole  
28 process in Alaska is very complex and I think having  
29 not reviewed this report and the earlier report dealing  
30 with Alaska, I don't really want to get into it in





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 detail but I think one has to examine or take into  
2 consideration the quotas that state -- I think it's  
3 state legislation placed upon the unions in Alaska,  
4 the inefficient recruitment placement system that was  
5 set up which involved duplication of activity in the  
6 field and again at union offices in Anchorage and  
7 Fairbanks. So what I'm saying is that there are a number  
8 of factors involved and for a bush native, as they  
9 call them in Alaska, to try and comprehend and deal  
10 with all these factors, you probably find a situation  
11 where he ends up at the Laborers Union because it's  
12 easiest to get in. There is nothing detailed in  
13 terms of experience equivalency examinations sitting  
14 before Joint Union-Contractor Panels. There's a number  
15 of things.



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

Q This was just one factor  
of many that would discourage people from taking  
certain kinds of jobs. Now, on page twenty-seven  
you quote one union official as saying that unions  
will lay the ground rules and that government agencies  
will have to work with unions rather than unions  
working with government.

I gather you're suggesting  
there that the terms are going to be dictated by the  
unions and what they will and will not put up with  
and the legislation will have to be built around that?  
Is that correct?

WITNESS BASHAM: With  
respect to the delivery of manpower to the job, yes.

WITNESS BRADEN: Mr. Bayly,  
I think this is a manifestation of a point which is  
brought out here that there's a certain reluctance  
of unions to let government become very involved  
in certain aspects of dispatch and things like that  
and, you know, I think this statement, as I've quoted  
it in here, was intended to bring forth that point.

Q I understand that and  
the reason I'm asking you this is we've heard from  
the applicants and we've heard from the unions and  
both have their own ideas about manpower delivery  
systems and the government may have its own idea  
too, and what you're saying to us is that we better  
find out what the unions lay down as a set of  
minimum conditions for manpower delivery before any-  
body starts doing an extensive planning. Is that





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 correct?

2 A That's correct.

3 Q I mean, before anybody  
4 else does any extensive planning?

5 WITNESS BASHAM: Yes.

6 Q Now, was this something  
7 that you found from your investigation that  
8 Territorial and Federal Government officials were  
9 aware of, this fact of life, if we can call it that?

10 A We had, in the course  
11 of this study, we had very limited contact with the  
12 Territorial Government or also the Federal Government  
13 and we chose to emphasize just talking to the unions.  
14 So, it may be an observation out of context.

15 Q Is this a fact of life  
16 in Alaska that you observed or would you say that  
17 this has application in Canada as well; that the  
18 unions will want this role in setting minimum  
19 conditions for manpower delivery?

20 A In Alaska the unions  
21 have almost exclusive control over the delivery of  
22 manpower to the job and also almost exclusive control  
23 over entry into the training programs.

24  
25 Q You see, we've heard  
26 from--

27 A It's not the case in  
28 Canada.

29 Q We've heard from the  
30 companies that they've talked to the government and



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 the government may want people from northern settle-  
2 ments which are not in the Mackenzie corridor to be  
3 able to participate in pipeline work. What I'm  
4 concerned with is whether this is a practicality in  
5 terms of the union's minimum requirements in your  
6 opinion?

7 A If it can be accomplished  
8 logistically, then I suppose it's theoretically  
9 possible. But to move a person from the eastern  
10 Arctic or the high Arctic or the Arctic coastal  
11 communities to a location along the Mackenzie Valley  
12 may be logistically very difficult, particularly if  
13 this--perhaps you recall the reference to the forty-  
14 eight hour call in the document. If this is an  
15 condition, this forty-eight hours, show up within  
16 forty-eight hours, it may be extremely difficult to  
17 comply with that particular standard agreement  
18 provision for a guy from the eastern Arctic or even  
19 for a guy within the Mackenzie Delta trying to move  
20 down south of that area.

21 Q Right. On page twenty-  
22 seven, you go on to state that some unions are willing  
23 or able to admit any and every northerner and I would  
24 assume that one of those is the labourers. Am I  
25 correct in that?

26 A Yes. They so stated  
27 that they would be willing to consider any and every  
28 qualified northerner.

29 Q Are there any other  
30 unions that have made that statement?



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Willing  
2 to consider that they are qualified. No, that  
3 doesn't seem to be much of a concession.

4 MR. BAYLY: Well, that isn't  
5 what's said in the report either.

6 MR. SCOTT: What part of  
7 the report are you referring to, Mr. Bayly, because  
8 I don't think you correctly summarized it, the part  
9 I'm reading.

10 MR. BAYLY: I missed out  
11 a word. You state that some unions are not willing  
12 or able to admit any and every northerner and the  
13 qualification that you've put is that if the person  
14 is qualified, they'll consider them in some unions  
15 and not in others?

16 A Yes. I think that you  
17 have to realize that they have their existing  
18 membership to consider as well and if they have a  
19 large surplus of unemployed members, that those people  
20 are going to be given very careful consideration in  
21 the dispatch as well.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: And we've  
23 been told that it should borne in mind as to the state  
24 of pipeline construction currently in Canada and I  
25 think with completion of the Montreal-Sarnia line,  
26 there may be a lot of well trained people looking  
27 for work.

28 A Yes, and there will be  
29 some Canadians coming back from Alaska experienced  
30 too.





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

MR. BAYLY:

Q On page twenty-nine, on the subject of apprenticeship training, would you clarify something for me please. You state that before the applicant commences formal employment as an apprentice, he must provide proof that he possesses interest and ability and he must also provide proof to the Northwest Territories Government that a contract of employment has been signed with an employer.

A That means there has to be a sponsor for the indentured apprentice, yes.

Q An indentured apprentice is one who has--

A Entered a contract.

Q Signed a contract that he will take certain required training to qualify for a certain job, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q In regard to your section on the two governments, their role--

A What page is that on?

Q This is on page thirty. After you've emphasized that communication with the unions has been limited, you state that there is some conflict between the Federal and Territorial Governments and it's hampering the efforts to solicit some positive union involvement.

In your opinion, are they competing for legislative area or what seems to be the problem?



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A Not in my view, no.

2 I do not think they're, at the moment, competing  
3 for legislative area. There are established juris-  
4 dictions that I think they're trying to work within  
5 to prepare a manpower delivery system.

6 Q So, you feel that that  
7 government official was incorrect? The last sentence  
8 says that, "One government official charges that  
9 conflicts between the Federal and Territorial  
10 Governments is hampering <sup>efforts</sup> to solicit some positive  
11 union involvement".

12 A I think perhaps the  
13 conflict implied is that they haven't got it  
14 together yet, rather than some intrinsic, philosophical  
15 conflict.

16 Q So, that's a planning  
17 problem?

18 A Yes. It's also a  
19 budget problem which is facing every level of  
20 government too.





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

Q You state with regard to entry into a union, that officials of the Employment Division of the Territorial Department of Economic Development indicated that they felt southern unions recognize their evaluation of northern residents as skilled tradesmen or suitable candidates for apprenticeship training programs. We've had the unions here. They're a bit concerned about some of the people who maybe considered to be qualified, and they referred to what they called the 60-day wonders that are turned out by the Fort Smith Vocational Training Centre and they're concerned that although people have a piece of paper and have gone through a course, they may not be qualified to do the jobs that Economic Development may think they can do. Is that your opinion as well on the difference in perception of these qualified persons?

A That may be a preconception on the part of some unions, but if past experience is anything to go by, the unions in the south have accepted the recommendation of the Territorial Government's Apprenticeship Branch or Board and this has not evidently been a problem in the past. For example, I suppose you're asking whether the people in Yellowknife have referred unqualified candidates to certain unions or to certain training programs, and our information from talking to the union people is that that has not occurred.

Q So in the past that has not occurred and you talked to the unions about their



Basham, Braden  
CrossExam by Bayly

1 concern as to whether people who have graduated from  
2 the Territorial facilities are in fact qualified for  
3 pipeline work.

4 A We haven't pursued that  
5 enquiry, at least I haven't. I don't know whether  
6 George has a comment on it.

7 WITNESS BRADEN: These  
8 60-day wonders that you're referring to, I think the  
9 individuals have taken training in heavy equipment  
10 operation. I think that Irv Nessel talked to us  
11 about it.

12 Q And he's the one who  
13 used that expression as well?

14 A Yes. I don't know  
15 specifically if that course that is offered follows  
16 some set standards or if they have been established  
17 by the Northwest Territories Government. Perhaps you  
18 could ask Mr. Witty when he appears in his panel the  
19 next couple of weeks.

20 Q Mr. Witty, is it?

21 A Yes, Mr. Witty is the  
22 chief of the Employment Division, who would have  
23 information on this particular subject.

24 Q Have you looked at the  
25 Fort McMurray project with regard to native employment  
26 and native membership in unions?

27 WITNESS BASHAM: Only very  
28 superficially.

29 Q Are you in a position  
30 to tell us whether the problems that may have arisen



Braden, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

in Alaska with some unions have been evident in the Fort McMurray situation with regard to difficulty in joining certain unions?

A No, I can't respond to that.

Q All right. Is that your --

A Our observations on Syncrude and the Tar Sands were gleaned from discussions with union business managers in Edmonton, and since that is the project at the moment for the people in Edmonton, they have cast some observations on the Syncrude job, and some of those are captured in the report.

Q Are you in a position to say any more, Mr. Braden, or is that the state of your knowledge as well?

WITNESS BRADEN: I think the one union that has been most successful in the Fort McMurray area is the Laborers Union, and this stems in part from the special five-week training program that they implemented at Kenyano College, I think. My understanding is that before a local person would be allowed on the jobsite, you know, unless of course he had some prior training, the individual would have to go to this five-week course which involved training in basic construction activities, and there is also -- part of the program is also related to banking, job responsibilities, what unions are all about, things like that. I understand that the Laborers Union has hired or rather has managed to train a number of





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 local native residents from the Fort McMurray area  
2 and that there is a pool available in the area ready  
3 for dispatch to the Tar Sands jobsites.

4 Q On the subject of  
5 dispatch now, and that section begins at page 50,  
6 you distinguish between Alaska and Canada by saying  
7 that:

8 "A fundamental difference between the two  
9 jurisdictions is exemplified by the reported  
10 absence of a seniority system for dispatch  
11 to construction projects in Canada."

12 I'm curious why you used the qualification reported.  
13 Are you concerned that there is --

WITNESS BASHAM:

14 A Would you repeat that,  
15 please, Mr. Bayly? Sorry, I missed it.

16 Q Yes. Second paragraph  
17 page 50, second sentence.

18 MR. SCOTT: If you will talk  
19 into your microphone, Mr. Bayly, it's hard to hear  
20 you.

21 MR. BAYLY: Q Second sentence,  
22 page 50, second paragraph,

23 "There is a fundamental difference between the  
24 two jurisdictions exemplified by the reported  
25 absence of a seniority system."

26 When you say "reported", is there any reason you  
27 qualified that? Do you suspect there may be one that  
28 is unreported?

29 A No, I don't suspect  
30 that, but we have only the word of the union business



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

managers we talked to about that. Their dispatch is basically a first-in first-out system, whereas in Alaska the priority dispatch system is organized above seniority. Hours worked with a contractor, hours worked on a particular type of activity which is an experience seniority system.

Q And to your knowledge there is no A, B, C, listing system from which the priorities are derived? First-in-first-out is not derived --

A My information is that there isn't anything like that here.

Q Now, you indicated that in Alaska -- this is at page 53 -- that

"The 48-hour call was a contractor condition, and this worked a hardship on the people in rural areas."

Have you checked with the contractors to see whether or not in general they would like to see a 48-hour call system? We've had some evidence from them, which you may have read, that they may be more flexible than this in the building trades in particular.

A We had very limited contact with the contractors on this study, and we -- I personally did not talk to them about 48-hour call.

Q Did you, Mr. Braden?

WITNESS BRADEN: I think one contractor we talked to -- or perhaps it was a union official, I can't remember -- raised the point that



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 the foreman on the jobsite didn't need the workers  
2 he's calling for in 48 hours, he needs them yesterday  
3 so to speak, and in pipeline construction in parti-  
4 cular, I can see where the 48-hour call is very  
5 crucial. If a member of the work force operating  
6 a particular piece of equipment that is very  
7 necessary to the continuing operation is absent,  
8 I can understand a contractor's concern in  
9 getting a replacement as soon as possible. However,  
10 in station construction and gasline construction  
11 and some of the other facilities, this could be  
12 flexible and from talking to people with the A.F.N.  
13 and the Fairbanks Native Association, in Alaska I  
14 understand that some of the union hiring halls were  
15 flexible and allowed two or three days' leeway to  
16 track someone down and get him into the hiring hall  
17 at either Anchorage or Fairbanks.

18 Q Now, given the problems  
19 that contractors may face, do you feel that there  
20 should be some jobs that may not be as crucial and  
21 which there should be a more flexible time than the  
22 48 hours?

WITNESS BASHAM:

A Yes, definitely.

24 Q Now, on page 57 you  
25 discussed long-term as opposed to temporary jobs,  
26 and you indicate there in the first paragraph that  
27 you observed the dilemma and you state:

28 "The dilemma can be related in part --"

29 MR. SCOTT: Where are you  
30 reading from, Mr. Bayly? I'm sorry.





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

MR. BAYLY: As I stated  
before, Mr. Commissioner, I'm reading from the first  
paragraph, third sentence:

"This dilemma can be related --"

A Page 57?

Q 57.

A The first paragraph?

THE COMMISSIONER: Third  
sentence. O.K.

MR. BAYLY:

"This dilemma can be related in part to the  
observed tendency for Alaska natives to  
enroll in the Laborers Union where entry  
requirements are low and training programs  
are short, immediate employment and high wages  
are available."

I take it from that that native people in Alaska  
in any event were interested in getting on the job  
as soon as possible, rather than going through long  
training periods. The reason I'm interested in that  
is the people have recommended various things here,  
including that native people should head for those  
jobs that will give them skills that they can use  
afterwards. Your indication seems to be they may not  
want to do that, if the Alaska situation --



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1                   A     We don't know much about  
2     that.  
3     /We're saying that I think we don't want to discriminate  
4     in a manpower delivery system against people that  
5     legitimately want to make some quick and dirty dollars  
6     for one reason or another without judging what they're  
7     going to do with those dollars.

8                   I think that we feel that  
9     priorities should be placed on recruitment for jobs  
10    that have some long-term prospect for guaranteed  
11    employment over a long period of time and I think  
12    that that should be a valid priority in terms of  
13    emphasis of a program. We don't want to discriminate  
14    against a guy that really does want to go out and  
15    make four thousand dollars in two or three months  
16    and go back and finance a small business or finance  
17    a trapline operation or whatever.

18                  THE COMMISSIONER: Spend it  
19    on a television set.

20                  A     Spend it on a T. V.  
21    Why not? I do it too.

22                  MR. BAYLY: So, your  
23    recommendation on page eighty-six should be read with  
24    that qualification. That recommendation being that  
25    emphasis should be placed on identifying those trades  
26    most consistent with potential long-term employment?

27                  A     Yes.

28                  THE COMMISSIONER: Well, the  
29    jobs that the Labourer's Union represents are as  
30    likely to offer training, even though it may be of  
   a limited nature. Those jobs are likely to be the



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Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 kind of jobs available to the native people in the  
2 long-term in the Territory as the jobs they might  
3 get through entry into the welders or some of the  
4 other craft unions. The representative of the  
5 Labourers was here last week and he took umbrage at  
6 the assumption we all made, that his people were  
7 brawny but without brains and--

8 A That was Jack Dyck?

9 Q But it may well be that  
10 in the Labourer's Union, you have entry to jobs of  
11 which there will be more around here when the  
12 pipeline is built, when it's all over with. Then  
13 you would have entry into the other crafts.

14 A Well, I think we're  
15 saying that maybe let's consider training for an  
16 ordinary welder. Let's consider training for a  
17 construction carpenter. Let's consider training  
18 for an electrician instead of giving priority  
19 emphasis on down-hand welding or on operating a  
20 piece of equipment which strings pipe or something  
21 like that. I think that's the tone of our emphasis.

22 Q It's pretty clear that there  
23 is virtually no possibility of them obtaining those  
24 positions anyway. That was, I think, made clear  
25 enough to us last week.

26 A Yes.

27 Q Through safety  
28 considerations, considerations related to the  
29 expediting of the <sup>job</sup> and so forth and so on.

30 A Well, I don't know





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 whether I believe that because if we have say five  
2 years to plan a pipeline in Northern Canada, it's  
3 quite possible that people could move into those  
4 skilled jobs over that period of time. If it goes  
5 new year, there's no way.

6 Q That's an interesting  
7 point but we did discuss it, I think, last week and  
8 I'm just musing out loud about this. But they  
9 indicated, these gentlemen who represented the  
10 union, Mr. St. Eloi for instance, said that you could  
11 only get that experience really on the job. The  
12 Teamster representative made observations to the  
13 same effect.

14 There's a kind of a gap  
15 there where the new people come from, if you always  
16 get experience on the job.

17 A Were they addressing  
18 themselves to line construction or other aspects of  
19 construction of the project, because their observation  
20 is probably correct with respect to pipeline con-  
21 struction but the only way you are going to get your  
22 qualification is to work on pipeline.

23 Q That's what they meant.

24 A Yes.

25 Q It doesn't realistically  
26 provide you with an opportunity to train native  
27 northerners for line construction because the only  
28 way you'd train them for that would be to send them  
29 to other parts of the continent or the world. Anyway,  
30 forgive me for interrupting. You wanted to say something,



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

Mr. Braden.

WITNESS BRADEN: I think it's important to remember that chances are equipment will be remaining idle for certain periods of time during the year. That if there are northern residents who are really interested in pursuing a career in side-boom operation, it's conceivable that a special training program could be set up in the summer and this assumes, of course, that the equipment is available and that there is a site where a training program could be undertaken and that instructors and funding and so forth is available.

Q Well, Foothills proposed something like that. Foothills proposed kind of a mock pipeline spread. It's an ambitious idea. Whether it's practical or not is another question. It's very much like the suggestion you've made.

That, in a way, is asking a lot of the companies in the union. There's no reason why we shouldn't ask a lot of them but we should have some pretty firm idea in our own minds that it's a sound proposition. Well, sorry. Go ahead.

MR. BAYLY: Now, one of the bits of information we've heard and perhaps in your investigations in Alaska you can tell me if this is true was that some of the members of the union that did the welds on the actual pipe were members of the same union as the inspectors. In fact, members even of the same local. That the welding inspection,



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 in other words, was done by people who were members  
2 of the 798'ers as well as the fact that other members  
3 of the 798'ers also did the welding. Is that your  
4 information?

5 A I find that really  
6 interesting but I wasn't told that by anybody in  
7 Alaska whom I talked to.

8 Q All right. Mr. Basham,  
9 do you have any information about that?

WITNESS BASHAM:

10 A No I don't, no.

11 Q On page sixty, on the  
12 final paragraph on that page, there appears to be  
13 some difference of opinion between the unions and  
14 the recruitment agencies. The unions wish to avoid  
15 sending either all the native people to one  
16 construction site and perhaps this is implicit in  
17 your statement or even a substantial number of one  
18 site and yet the recruitment agencies seem to prefer  
19 this.

20 Do they give any reasons  
21 for that? Why is it the unions wish to avoid that,  
22 for example?

23 THE COMMISSIONER: I think  
24 they made it clear last week they didn't want  
25 inexperienced men together on a site. They wanted  
26 them dispersed.

27 MR. BAYLY: I presume that  
28 means that they think of native people as a class  
29 of inexperience but if we put that to one side and--  
30 is it the inexperience or is it a question of not





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 wanting to put a group of a certain culture of people  
2 together as a special consideration to them, because  
3 some of the native people must be qualified, so it's  
4 not entirely that.

5 WITNESS BRADEN: I recall  
6 a statement by one union official where he said that  
7 at Syncrude project we have whites and Indians and  
8 Chinese and a whole lot of other races and  
9 nationalities all working happily together and he  
10 didn't really think that placing a group of Indian  
11 people together in one special camp would be useful.  
12 I guess primarily because it conflicts with this  
13 equality principle that unions try to abide by but  
14 nevertheless, I think there is some evidence to  
15 suggest that in dispatch, if a group of people from  
16 one particular community or a group of people from  
17 one particular area or region are sent to work in  
18 a large spread, chances are they might remain longer  
19 than if there was only a couple of them working in  
20 a camp where there could be as many as a thousand  
21 workers.

22 Q I take it that's the  
23 rationale of the recruitment agencies?

24 A I would suggest that  
25 this particular aspect should be pursued in dispatch  
26 during the construction of the Mackenzie Valley  
27 Pipeline.

28 Q See we heard from the  
29 unions when they were here that they supported the  
30 idea of local hire, wherever it was, and I assumed and



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 perhaps you can tell me if you discussed this with  
2 them, that part of the rationale for that was so that  
3 people from a local area could work close to home,  
4 not that they would be spread out across the length  
5 of a thousand mile pipeline. You don't mention that  
6 as part of the rationale for putting people all in  
7 one camp if they're all from one community, for  
8 example, and I wondered if that entered into it as  
9 far as the recruitment agency was concerned in  
10 Alaska? Perhaps you didn't ask them about that,  
11 I don't know.

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Basham, Braden  
C ross-Exam by Bayly

1 A I'm a little confused.  
2 Could you restate that, please?

3 Q One of the concerns that  
4 people have expressed is that they don't want to go  
5 a long way away from home for jobs, and they don't  
6 want to travel all over the country to do jobs. The  
7 closer the job is to home, the easier access they have  
8 to their communities. It strikes me that one of the  
9 rationale for putting a group of people from a local  
10 area, whether they're native people or white people,  
11 it doesn't really matter, is that they may be close  
12 to home as opposed to they may find comfort in being  
13 among their own.

14 WITNESS BASHAM: That sounds  
15 very reasonable.

16 MR. SCOTT: What was the  
17 question, Mr. Bayly? I don't understand.

18 MR. BAYLY: I'm asking if  
19 that was one, and I did ask this, Mr. Scott.

20 MR. SCOTT: It was so long,  
21 though, that I'm having trouble following it. Could  
22 you repeat it?

23 MR. BAYLY: Certainly, Mr.  
24 Scott.

25 Q The question was: Was  
26 this one of the concerns of the recruitment agency  
27 in Alaska in their attempt to place larger numbers of  
28 native peoples in individual camps ?

29 WITNESS BRADEN: Well, you're  
30 working with a mobile project, if I can use that





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

expression. So it's not like Syncrude where it's localized and you can draw upon a labor force which resides close to the development. Certainly probably in the Valdez area where there was a great deal of construction, I could see where a native person who is a member of a particular -- an Anchorage local -- could request work in the Valdez area if he lived close to that area.

WITNESS BASHAM: Maybe I could add to that experience in Alaska on the previous study that was entered as evidence. I think perhaps a more -- a better reason for having more people from the same community or the same region assigned to a particular construction spread was the proximity of one's friends rather than the proximity of the particular community geographically speaking. I don't know whether that helps to respond or not.

Q But you're not suggesting in Alaska that the camps themselves moved. I understand a camp would be responsible for a certain spread.

A Yes.

Q Not that people would return to it when they were off-shift. Now, with regard to the dispatch of apprentices, you stated that in Alaska -- and this is page 67 the subject comes up in the paragraph numbered 6 -- you stated that, "For the first year apprentices in Alaska--" you don't talk about first year apprentices there but you do talk about first year apprentices earlier. Am



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 I to understand that it is for the first year that  
2 the apprentices are at a disadvantage with respect  
3 to dispatch and employment in Alaska?

4 A Yes, that point was  
5 made when I was up there.

6 Q Does that length of time  
7 vary from union to union in Alaska?

8 WITNESS BASHAM: I think it's  
9 more a function of the nature of the call for man-  
10 power to the job. The contractor specifies the people  
11 he wants and probably will also have something to say  
12 about the number of trainees and number of apprentices  
13 assigned to the job, and perhaps the point about the  
14 first year apprentices is really that perhaps these  
15 people aren't as experienced as apprentices in later  
16 stages of their programs.

17 Q Is that for the first  
18 construction year, or do they have to have worked  
19 12 months before they overcome this disability in  
20 Alaska, or this disadvantage?

21 A I don't know.

22 Q Do you know that, Mr.  
23 Braden?

24 WITNESS BRADEN: I think it  
25 depends on the contractor and the type of work that's  
26 being done. Some contractors, I understand, really  
27 enjoy hiring first year apprentices because they  
28 don't really have to pay them that much money, and  
29 they can stretch the work a long way; whereas in other  
30 cases you have a very discriminating contractor who



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

doesn't want first year apprentices on the job because of their experience and so forth.

Now, you know, presumably this could be extended to the second year level as well, until such time as the apprentice has generated enough hours which can be interpreted as -- interpreted in terms of skills.

Q Is that something that's set by the contractor, then? The number of hours of apprenticeship.

A In Alaska?

Q Yes.

A I think the unions establish that.

WITNESS BASHAM: Yes, the unions in concert with the Apprenticeship Board, Federal Department of Labor .

Q Did you investigate the Canadian scene to see whether there's the same situation likely to arise in the Mackenzie Valley?

A In part, yes. There's a page in this report concerning ratios of apprentice to journeymen. Those ratios are established by legislation, by apprenticeship legislation in Alberta which are applied in the Northwest Territories. However, they're not mandatory, in the main they are not mandatory apprentice journeymen ratios. They're suggested apprentice journeymen ratios and I understand that each job is negotiated on an ad hoc basis with respect to the number of apprentices that may





Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

be called. So the contractors are not obliged to accept necessarily a fixed proportion of apprentices to journeymen, in the indentured trades where it's legislated.

Q Am I correct in assuming that the people that would be involved in these negotiations would be the contractors, the unions, and the government?

A For apprenticeable trades.

Q Yes.

A Yes.

Q And if the unions and the contractors were based in Alberta, it would be they that would be doing the negotiating.

A Yes.

WITNESS BRADEN: Excuse me, I think the international representatives would be involved in it as well. Certainly the business managers for the Edmonton locals would be included in any negotiations. I think union representation at the international level or regional level varies with each union. These people would be involved as well.

Q All right, and the organization that would represent those people who might become apprentices after the agreement would be either in this case the Territorial or Federal Government, as you understand it.

WITNESS BASHAM: No.

Q Or other bargaining



Basham, Braden  
C ross-Exam by Bayly

process.

A No. Actually I don't think that the Territorial Government is part of that particular thing for the apprenticeable trades covered under the apprenticeship legislation. That's an Act of the Alberta Legislature, not the Territorial Council.

Q So it might be possible for the Alberta Government to legislate and for an agreement to be made between the unions international and Alberta local and the contractors with regard to a project that is to be carried out largely in the Northwest Territories, as it relates to apprenticeship periods.

A This is remotely conceivable. I don't know.

Q When you refer to the need for legislation, as you do in a particular recommendation, do you contemplate including legislation to ensure that there is a voice from the Territories that speaks to this question of the length of apprenticeships and rates to be paid to apprentices, etc.?

A Yes.

Q On page 80 you talk about regulating the unions by legislation or Act of Parliament. Is it because the project is such a large one and will be -- the impacts from it will be felt throughout an entire region that you advocate enshrining some of the agreements and regulations in either new



Basham, Braden  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1       legislation or in adaptations of existing legislation?

2                               A       Yes, in part that's  
3       correct; and it's also necessary for the reason that  
4       the standard collective agreements say that those  
5       agreements shall be binding except when superseded  
6       by an Act of Parliament or an Act of a Provincial  
7       Legislature.

8                               Q       And you're --

9                               A       So if you're talking  
10       about say terms and conditions for a pipeline or  
11       stipulations on a pipeline permit that presumably that  
12       would have to be embodied in legislation if there were  
13       provisions or stipulations that were going to super-  
14       sede any standard collective agreement between  
15       unions and contractors.





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

Q Have you any recommendations to make in terms of requiring local hire and if we can call it positive discrimination measures?

A Yes. They're embodied in the recommendations in the last chapter of the report in great detail.

Q But you haven't drafted a piece of model legislation that you'd like to see?

A No.

Q Is that what happened in the Fort McMurray situation, was special legislation passed?

A Special legislation was passed, I think, to enable a project agreement, no strike, no lock-out, project agreement to be struck between the parties and I understand that that was not a no strike, no lock-out agreement. I understand it wasn't possible in the absence of enabling legislation to that effect.

Q You talk about having a separate manpower delivery system. That is separate I take it, from both contractors and union. Is that correct?

A And existing government agencies.

Q So, you wouldn't see that as some people have recommended as being an extension of the Department of Manpower and Immigration?

A I would see the Department



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 of Manpower and Immigration would be a part of this  
2 system but I don't personally see it as an extension  
3 of manpower and immigration. Other people may feel  
4 differently.

5 Q All right. Well, I'm  
6 interested in your thoughts because you've seen the  
7 Alaska system. What sort of an agency would it be  
8 if it were independent of I gather not only manage-  
9 ment and union but also government. Would it be  
10 a private one funded by all three?

11 A I'm not sure that  
12 we have suggested that it would be an independent  
13 agency. I think that we have suggested that it is  
14 a separate agency with substantial power. I think  
15 we're talking about a system which draws on all the  
16 resources of the existing agencies and draws on  
17 their staff and presumably is given a mandate to  
18 do something. Not a committee structure.

19 Q Would you see that as  
20 being part of or separate from a Mackenzie Valley  
21 Pipeline authority if there was such a body created?

22 A I don't know. I think  
23 there would have to be substantial inter-relationship  
24 between the authority and the manpower delivery  
25 system and it would depend in part on the powers that  
26 the authority are given in regard to ensuring local  
27 participation, local work force participation.

28 If the authority is granted  
29 compliance powers to ensure that northern people are  
30 employed on the project, then I would assume that the



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 manpower delivery system would have to be pretty  
2 closely tied to the authority.

3 Q If it weren't, I take  
4 it it would have to have its own enforcement arm  
5 to make sure that it's--

6 A If it was decided that  
7 the manpower delivery system would have an enforcement  
8 arm, yes.

9 Q How would it affect  
10 compliance otherwise?

11 A Indirectly by referring  
12 complaints to the authority which had the legislative  
13 teeth to do something about it or penalize. In  
14 other words, presumably the delivery system could  
15 refer complaints to the authority for action or to  
16 the Parliament of Canada for action or something.

17 Q Do you have a preference  
18 between its having its own ability to police its  
19 jurisdiction as opposed to having to refer it to  
20 another agency?

21 A My own view, without  
22 prior thought on the matter, is that it would be  
23 a little bit complicated to split the authorities.  
24 I think that perhaps it might be more functional  
25 to have it as part of the authority.

26 Q If you do have further  
27 thought--

28 A If the authority has  
29 got the mandate to deal with manpower, yes.

30 Q If you do reflect on this



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 and have further thoughts, perhaps you could include  
2 that with your answer to my question on which unions  
3 were not contacted in Alaska.

4 A That's a big  
5 assignment, Mr. Bayly.

6 Q I'm not asking you to  
7 undertake to do that but you've said that you answered  
8 off the top of your head and if you say, my goodness,  
9 what I said I'd like to qualify, then feel free to  
10 do so.

11 A Okay. Can I write  
12 that down before you ask something else.

13 Q Sure. Go ahead. Now,  
14 you have a recommendation at page ninety-five, number  
15 one. You recommend that terms and conditions include  
16 a requirement for the creation of apprenticeship  
17 and other training programs associated with each of  
18 the project elements. Now, my concern is and perhaps  
19 you can tell me how we can get around this, is that  
20 there are many unions which already have waiting  
21 lists, members that would like to get these jobs.

22 In the face of that, do you  
23 feel that they would be very active and resisting  
24 training a good deal more members in all aspects of  
25 pipeline work because they have members out of work  
26 and their first obligation will probably be to them.

27 A I think that they could  
28 be expected to resist that if they have a large  
29 unemployed trainee membership or apprentice membership,  
30 yes.





Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q So, it would be wise  
2 to discuss it with them so that--

3 A Yes, it would be.

4 Q --money isn't spent  
5 on something that isn't going to work out. On page  
6 ninety-six and ninety-seven, you state that an  
7 extension of the duration of pipeline construction,  
8 and this is number eight, would not be beneficial  
9 to training because of the lack of specific  
10 apprenticeship programs.

11 Now, you've recommended  
12 that there be apprenticeship programs. If there are,  
13 are you recommending that the construction timetable  
14 be looked at again? Out of the two recommendations,  
15 one and eight, in other words, stick them together?

16 A Yes. Let me look at  
17 number one first.

18 Q Take you time on that.  
19 Read all of eight. It's quite long.

20 A It's a difficult question  
21 to answer because we understand, from following the  
22 Inquiry over its progress, that extension of one  
23 year has been considered for construction and our  
24 view is that that may not be long enough to allow  
25 an apprentice to complete his program and so our  
26 observation on it is, in part, coloured by our feeling  
27 that three years isn't going to do anything. Four  
28 years may not either. Ten years apparently is  
29 unrealistic.

30 Q Having followed the



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Inquiry's progress, you're then aware of the evidence  
2 that suggests that the pipeline construction per se  
3 may be completed in three years but that the  
4 possibilities of looping, of adding compression, of  
5 perhaps adding a facility to take oil as well as  
6 gas out, may make this construction period considerably  
7 longer than three or five years and there have been  
8 suggestions that it may last a decade or more.

9 A Yes.

10 Q Under those circumstances,  
11 do you feel that the apprenticeship programs are  
12 necessary?

13 A Absolutely, yes. I do.

14 Q So, that's how you can  
15 make the two recommendations together. Is that it?

16 A I guess so, yes. I'm  
17 sorry. I haven't read the report for three months.

18 Q I take it, because of  
19 that, if we were to make an additional recommendation,  
20 it would be that apprenticeship training should look  
21 first at those skills which may be generally applicable  
22 to an energy corridor so that a person could transfer  
23 from the work on one kind of facility to another  
24 as easily as possible?

25 A Yes.

26 Q Now, we heard from the  
27 Canadian Labour Council the other day and they've  
28 recommended that there be recognition of everybody  
29 in the Northwest Territories as a member of a bargaining  
30 group. Legislation be enacted so that the certifi-



Braden, Basham  
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 cation process would not be applicable in the  
2 Northwest Territories. Now, you have recommended  
3 that unions be encouraged to sign up and give priority  
4 dispatch to all qualified northern trades people in  
5 both designated and non-designated trades, regardless  
6 of union membership.

7 Were you aware of the C.L.C.'s  
8 recommendation?

9 A Universal certification?

10 Q Yes.

11 A No, I'm not. I've  
12 just heard about it last night and I have no thoughts  
13 on it. I could think about it if you provided me  
14 with the testimony and perhaps respond.

15 Q I think we can make  
16 that evidence available to you and if you do have  
17 any comments, I don't require you to have a thought  
18 on it, but if you do, perhaps you could supply us.  
19 Those are the questions I have of this panel. Thank  
20 you very much gentlemen for coming up. Thank you,  
21 Mr. Scott, for providing them.

22 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Sigler?

23 MR. SIGLER: I have no  
24 questions.

25 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Hollingworth?

26 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I have  
27 no questions.

28 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves is  
29 absent.

30 MR. ZISKROUT: I have no





Braden, Basham

1 questions.

2  
3 MR. SCOTT: Those are all  
4 the questions. Mr. Commissioner, I'd just like to  
5 express my personal thanks to the members of the  
6 panel who had some trouble, though perhaps at our  
7 expense. They have come here on extremely short  
8 notice and I thank them for enabling us to call them  
9 at this time.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.  
11 Well, thank you Mr. Basham and Mr. Braden. It was  
12 very good of you to come and you've both been helpful  
13 to us and we're grateful to you both. So, thank  
14 you and we'll stop for coffee.

15 (RESUME OF FRANK C. BASHAM MARKED EXHIBIT 773)

16 (RESUME OF GEORGE BRADEN MARKED EXHIBIT 774)

17 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

18 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)  
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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner, could I take a moment to make some filings? You will recall that Mr. John B. Macleod was here on a panel presented by the Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce and I asked him certain questions about northern residency duration for the purposes of business preference. He undertook to write us a letter with his views on that. He has provided to us a letter dated September 7, 1976. I don't think it's necessary to read it all, but I would ask that that be the next exhibit.

Also when Mr. Runge was here as our witness to give evidence about housing problems in the Northwest Territories, he referred to two reports made by Manforce Research Associates and I asked him to produce copies of those. The first is entitled:

"Delta Regional Development and Employment Impact Assessment of Hydrocarbon Industry Activities in Selected Mackenzie Delta Communities."

I would like to make that the next exhibit.

The second report by Manforce is entitled:

"Delta Employment Development II, an Assessment of the Effect of Construction and Operation of Gas Processing Plants and Related Development on the Employment Situation of the Mackenzie Delta Region of the Northwest Territories."



1 I'd like to make that the next exhibit.

2 As I've indicated to my  
3 friends, we will be calling evidence by a panel that  
4 will deal with Mackenzie River Valley transportation  
5 problems and we have prepared a summary of that  
6 evidence in a document of some 147 pages. The  
7 document is called:

8 "Mackenzie River Valley Transportation  
9 Submission to Mackenzie Valley Pipeline  
10 Inquiry, September 1976."

11 I understand that there are some charts that are yet  
12 to come with respect to that. The whole has been  
13 circulated to each participant. I'd like to tender that  
14 as the next exhibit.

15 We intend to call that panel.  
16 It is not anticipated that the panel will be asked by  
17 us to read its evidence. It will instead provide  
18 a summary of portions of it with some diagramatic  
19 material, whereupon it will be subject to cross-examina-  
20 tion not only on that but on the report itself.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

22 MR. SCOTT: That is it for  
23 the moment, and Mr. Bayly, if you're ready, we can  
24 proceed with your next panel.

25 MR. BAYLY: I think we're  
26 ready, Mr. Commissioner. The witnesses have been  
27 sworn in and Mr. Commissioner, I propose to go through  
28 the qualifications of each and then I'll ask Mr.  
29 Snowden and Mr. Currie in that order to read their  
30 evidence. They are on your left Mr. Donald Snowden; on



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

your right, Mr. Ralph Currie.

DONALD SNOWDEN,

RALPH CURRIE, sworn:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

Q Mr. Snowden, attached to the back of your evidence is a curriculum vitae which was prepared at my request. Is that correct?

WITNESS SNOWDEN: That's correct.

Q And if we could go through that, I understand that you are an independent worker or consultant for much of the year at present, and for the remainder you are a special advisor to the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland in continuing education, especially as it relates to rural people.

A That's correct.

Q And that you have been involved since 1950 in various aspects of development in what is popularly called the Third World.

A Yes.

Q And that this has been related to the northern parts of the provinces in Canada, the Northwest Territories, and Alaska.

A That's correct.

Q That you have also been involved in rural development and continue to be so involved in other parts of the world, including south-east Asia, South America, the Indian sub-continent





Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

and the Caribbean.

A Yes.

Q In the past ten years you have worked as an independent consultant on a mission team, as a member of a mission team with UNESCO, an advisor to CEDA, and as a project co-ordinator for 13 Alaskan native and non-native groups concerned with ensuring an equitable share of state revenues from oil, as directed to rural development.

A That's correct.

Q That you have been a resource person with the Latin American Development Bank and an advisor to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador related to many aspects of Labrador.

A Yes.

Q And that you have been an advisor to the Government of Canada on rural development policies and an advisor to the Government of the United States on techniques to facilitate communication between the rural poor and government program designers and administrators.

A That's correct.

Q That you have recently been the chairman of the Royal Commission on Labrador which produced a six-volume report with some 200 recommendations directed to the government of the province, and through it to federal departments, Crown corporations, and private corporations.

A That's correct.

Q And that some of these



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

recommendations, as I suppose as is inevitable, have been implemented and others have not.

A Many of them have been implemented.

Q That as your background relates to this particular evidence, from the period 1956 to 1964 you were the chief of the Industrial Division of the Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

A Yes.

Q And that outlined in your curriculum vitae on the second page are a number of projects which, under your direction and through your involvement, were put into effect and carried on.

A That's correct.

Q These are listed numbers 1 through 12 and perhaps you could just go through those prior to giving your evidence.

A I say on this page that as the head of the Industrial Division of the Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources that I was either directly responsible for or indirectly responsible for the following 12 developments, among others:

1. The introduction of the first area resource inventories to be used as a basis for an extended approach to local development in the northern part of Canada.
2. Organization of the first northern co-operatives, not only as a business device but as the first effective



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

means whereby northern people could obtain a degree of control over development in their land.

3. All aspects of development of the Arctic char fisheries, including its introduction to Southern Canadian cuisine.

4. Organization of the Inuit fine crafts program.

5. Organization of the first major Canadian and first foreign sales of Inuit graphic art.

6. The conceptualization of what is now the major marketing organization for Inuit sculpture, graphics and fine crafts -- that is Canadian Arctic Producers.

7. The development of a specialty food processing program in the Arctic.

8. Initial market research and development in Canada and abroad of Inuit fine crafts.

9. The tribulations of copyright for and marketing of the Ookpik.

10. Liaison with corporations and agencies functioning in the north with a view to them using indigenous materials and northern products.

11. Advice to industry relating to appropriate technologies and products especially those related to food and clothing.

12. Implementation of extension programs, that is continuing education programs, that enable northern people to participate more fully in decision-making about their lives.

Those are the 12 characteristics I outlined.

Q And I understand that





Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 you are also an executive member of the Canadian  
2 Council on Rural Development, a member of the Board  
3 of the National Film Board, and a member of the  
4 Canadian Eskimo Arts Advisory Council.

5 A Yes, I am.

6 Q Could I go through your  
7 qualifications, Mr. Currie, before we begin the  
8 evidence of Mr. Snowden? I understand that your  
9 present position, which you have held since 1971, is  
10 as resource development officer, Maritime Region,  
11 Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development,  
12 and that you're stationed at Amherst, Nova Scotia.

13 WITNESS CURRIE: That's  
14 right.

15 Q And that previously from  
16 1931 to 1940 you were the rural reconstruction  
17 supervisor in Newfoundland.

18 A Yes.

19 Q And from 1940 to 1946  
20 you worked for the War Relocation Authority at Washington  
21 D.C.

22 A Yes.

23 Q And from 1946 to 1948  
24 you were the field representative of CARE, New York  
25 City.

26 A Yes.

27 Q And that in 1948 to 1958  
28 you were heavy equipment operator, instructor, and  
29 superintendent in the Canadian Arctic, in Newfoundland,  
30 in New York, and in Pakistan.



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 A Yes.

2 Q And that from 1958 to  
3 1962 you were a superintendent of the DEW Line sea  
4 lift in the Eastern Arctic.

5 A Yes.

6 Q And that from 1962 through  
7 1971 you worked for the Industrial Division of the  
8 Department of Indian & Northern Affairs, later the  
9 Indian Affairs & Northern Development Department in  
10 various positions in the area, economic surveys  
11 projects, tourism, and marketing.

12 A Yes.

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Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

Q And that your economic development experience includes development of fisheries, canneries, tourist facilities, soapstone, eiderdown, marine farming in Inuit communities in the Arctic and on Indian reserves on the Prairies and in the Maritimes.

A Yes.

Q And that you're responsible for the publications and papers which you've outlined below your--

A In that last paragraph, you would have said I'm involved in fish farming only. I've been in fisheries development in the Arctic Indian reserves and the Prairies.

Q The marine farming is only in the Maritimes.

A Only fish farming in the Maritimes.

Q Yes, right. And with regard to publications, you're responsible for those publications which I've asked you to list at the bottom of your curriculum vitae.

A Yes.

Q And with regard to the papers that are listed after your curriculum vitae, Mr. Snowden, I understand that you're responsible either personally or with others for all the papers that are listed in the bibliography?

WITNESS SNOWDEN: That's correct.



1 Q I wonder if we could  
2 begin then and I've asked Mr. Commissioner that these  
3 summaries of evidence will be attached. Bibliographies  
4 and curriculum vitae be marked as exhibits.

5 I wonder if we could start,  
6 Mr. Snowden, with your presentation and if you would  
7 make that presentation to the Inquiry.

8 A Thank you. I assume  
9 that if there is any difficulty in hearing me, Mr.  
10 Commissioner, that you will so indicate. Thank you.

11 I first of all apologize  
12 for arriving here suffering from the enormous  
13 distances of this country. I have been flying since,  
14 with the exception of five hours, since eleven o'clock  
15 yesterday morning and I understand now why it is that  
16 you've stopped your hearings in Halifax, not in  
17 St. John's, Newfoundland.

18 "Along the whole of the north shore, I did not  
19 see one cartload of earth and yet I landed in  
20 many places. Except at Blanc Sablon, there is  
21 nothing but moss and short-stunted shrubs. In  
22 fine, I am rather inclined to believe that this  
23 is the land that God gave to Cain".

24 That was Jacques Cartier  
25 writing in 1534 in what are now the voyages to Canada  
26 of Jacques Cartier. That is a description of  
27 Labrador, a land off whose shores more than one thousand  
28 million pounds of fish a year is produced, in  
29 addition to a third of the total Canadian catch of  
30 Atlantic salmon.





Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 In the interior of that land  
2 and in its inland waters, are some of the world's  
3 great iron ore reserves and some of North America's  
4 mightiest hydro electric power supplies. Its forests  
5 encompass more than six million acres of good to  
6 excellent spruce and fir growth which is only partially  
7 exploited.

8 It has an undeveloped fishery  
9 for several species, under-developed agricultural  
10 potential and under-developed trapping. Jacques  
11 Cartier regrettably does not stand alone in the  
12 history of Canada as a prophet of immense mis-  
13 calculation about the potential of our hinterland.  
14 His illustrious company is shared by others, some  
15 equally famous, some whose only fame is the vast  
16 inaccuracy of their predictions about the potential  
17 of this country's frontier.

18 Such prophets have been here  
19 since the first intrusion of the Europeans into  
20 North America. They are here today and some of them  
21 have appeared before you. A century from now, their  
22 predictions about the inability of such space to  
23 benefit humanity except through the development of  
24 non-renewable resources, will be read with as much  
25 amusement as are those of other earlier soothsayers.

26 How could Samuel Hearne have  
27 known as he damned the forbidden country of Northern  
28 Saskatchewan, that he was doing so on a spot that would  
29 produce uranium, fish for distant markets, furs for  
30 high fashion and piece of mind for jaded tourists?



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1                   And who of those who believed  
2 Palliser's Report on a huge triangular piece of the  
3 south-central Canadian Prairies could have foreseen  
4 that his sombre warnings that the land could never  
5 be productive would be made preposterous by the  
6 development of appropriate technology and the creation  
7 of market demands which he could not have anticipated?

8                   Every schoolboy in Canada  
9 is taught such examples. It is amazing after so many  
10 generations of such teaching that we can still produce  
11 for future use such memorable illustrations of self-  
12 denegration, of lack of awareness of the creative and  
13 inspired ability of humanity to turn empty space to  
14 productivity and marginal resources to great benefit.  
15 The immensity of our space, the luxury of freedom to  
16 regulate our own time-frame for development have  
17 weakened our vision of alternate, perhaps equally  
18 important development approaches, concepts and  
19 projects. In all our national consciousness there is  
20 no place for the marginal and little time for the  
21 unknown.

22                   It is my conviction, based  
23 on historical and contemporary evidence that some of  
24 those who have governed Canada from within and without  
25 and some whose opinions have shaped the basis of that  
26 governance, have frequently and vastly under-rated  
27 our hinterland's productive capacity. The under-rating  
28 is a phenomenon which exists today, especially, but  
29 by no means exclusively relative to the mid and far  
30 north regions of this country. That phenomenon is



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 painfully evident when alternate resource development  
2 in the Mackenzie Valley is attacked as irrelevant  
3 by some whose soul and concentrated interest lies  
4 in the development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

5 My concern in appearing  
6 before this Inquiry is not so much with the intro-  
7 duction or rejection of the pipeline but with the  
8 misinterpretation, distortions and misrepresentations  
9 regarding alternate, lower-level resource developments  
10 which are bound to occur when proponents of non-  
11 renewable resource development make their case.

12 Nor shall I develop my  
13 arguments around the rights and capacities of people  
14 in the North. My views about the constant denegation  
15 of the rights of these and scores of millions of  
16 other rural people throughout the world are known.

17 The fact is that oil, gas  
18 and mineral development are not the only resources  
19 worthy of exploitation in the Territory with which  
20 you are concerned. The fact is that nobody in this  
21 country is in a position to make such statements  
22 with any degree of accuracy. The fact is there is  
23 an immense gap in logic. If we believe that our  
24 knowledge, our experience and innovative capacity  
25 assure us of the exclusive importance of non-  
26 renewable resource development. Renewable resource  
27 development may be far less glamorous but it can be  
28 far longer lasting. The fact is that we have, as  
29 Canadians, to all intents and purposes and with  
30 deliberation relegated most non-renewable resource





Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 development to our national basket of rejects, across  
2 the whole of our north and indeed in some areas of  
3 the south.

4 Nobody can make accurate  
5 statements about what the Mackenzie Valley might  
6 be like if we were committed to alternate resource  
7 development because nobody in power has ever seen  
8 to it that we did the necessary, fundamental research,  
9 nurtured a sense of dedication to that type of  
10 development, created the appropriate technology,  
11 passed laws that did not contain and inhibit  
12 development of this kind in absurd ways, and made  
13 heavy, short-term investments for long-term benefits  
14 to this commitment.

15 Even had we completed a  
16 meaningful resource inventory of our northern lands  
17 and seas, it would not be enough to reject alternative  
18 resource development. Its success is dependent not  
19 only on a resource base, but on the perceived need  
20 to develop and the energy and innovated skills which  
21 are thrust into such development. Where are such  
22 characteristics in evidence in our national fabric?

23 Notwithstanding our lack  
24 of adequate base data, I believe there is a potential  
25 for greater harvesting of local resources; marine,  
26 mammal, forest, fur, fish and agricultural, and  
27 considerably greater opportunities for diversification  
28 in processing and more aggressive and sophisticated  
29 marketing.

30 One of the fundamental causes



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 of significant underdevelopment of renewable resources  
2 is our lack of serious commitment nationally to  
3 innovation and experiment. In addition, we have  
4 failed to develop an interest in the creation of  
5 appropriate technology, have failed to develop  
6 adequate market research and have discouraged  
7 inventors and innovators whose creative genius could  
8 have been usefully applied in the North.



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

We have been overwhelmed by bigness at the expense of rational local and regional development projects, at a pace and in the direction dictated by local priorities and local perceptions.

We have used and persist in using in this country a wildly inaccurate system of cost-benefit analysis for local projects work, and consistently hide or minimize the real cost to taxpayers of industrial subsidization.

Cost-benefit analysis techniques applied to the evaluation of local projects in the mid-north and far-north are unrealistic and dangerously inadequate, for they do not reflect social gains resulting from such projects. There is no evidence in the north that economic gains create concurrent and equal social gains (in fact I believe that there is ample evidence to the contrary). It is therefore, essential that new indicators be developed to measure the true importance of local resource development projects, not simply the economic gain or loss. Only then can we meaningfully comment on the merit of local resource centred project development and make wise decisions about the scope of such development.

In the meantime, I believe there are some categorical observations which can be made with some accuracy.

1. There is potential for much greater harvest of local resources by local people; there are possibilities for using some of these resources in newer, more



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

productive ways compatible with the lifestyles and values of local people.

2. There is unnecessary importation of southern consumer goods into the north, which can be produced in the north, or for which local substitutes can be developed for consumption and use here.

3. These resources can be processed at the local level for:

(a) local area and trans-north consumption, or

(b) for export south and abroad.

4. Although much good work has and is being done alternate approaches to fishery, forestry, agricultural and fur production have not been adequately tested and developed, nor has there been any major effort expended in the development of appropriate technology.

5. In summary, and I would like to remove the words "Federal and Territorial", Mr. Commissioner, in summary governments have failed to provide an adequate climate for renewable resource-based project development. Throughout the whole of the mid and far north, and as a matter of priority they have been erratic in the degree of enthusiasm with which they have espoused such rates of development. They have designated an unacceptably low level of priority to renewable resource research- have applied industrial world criterial to Third World level projects in the north, have had no total approach to northern renewable resource development, and have failed to provide adequate encouragement to local people to seek alternate renewable resource development opportunities.





Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

There were some such notable unique and innovative, if short-term efforts, by the Federal Government in some parts of the Arctic in the late '50s and early '60s, and I would like to eliminate the rest of that sentence which was written in a moment of inconceivable insanity. I don't know what I was meaning.

Perhaps it would be useful to make some more detailed reference to an earlier approach to local project development which I believe merits re-application with some modification.

In doing so, I feel like some anti-deluvian creature. I have been to all intents and purposes away from the Canadian Arctic for 13 years and I realize that there have been many experiences and many developments here since that time. I'm not totally unaware of them, but I think that if you can't learn anything from the anti-deluvian like us, at least it won't hurt you to see what we look like. So I present a brief description because it sets, I think, a kind of historical background which is important to this Inquiry, such kind of historical background into the beginnings of local renewable resource development projects in the Canadian north. That is under sponsorships of governments in this country.

In 1956 the Federal Government created a misnamed organization called "The Industrial Division" within the Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources. It was given surprising freedom



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 and very strong political support at the ministerial  
2 level -- that was in two administrations, in spite  
3 of the fact it functioned at a time when Mr. Lester  
4 Pearson made his ill-informed and insensitive comment  
5 about northern development being nothing more than  
6 the construction of roads from snow house to snow house.  
7 The Industrial Division's perception of its purpose  
8 was to examine and develop resources and potential  
9 local businesses that would bring some degree of  
10 control into the hands of northern people. In that  
11 era, unlike now, there was almost none of that left.  
12 People were encouraged to go to industrial employment  
13 in places like Rankin Inlet, which left many of them  
14 cynical, often unproductive, and bitterly disappointed  
15 at the shattering of expectations which occurred when  
16 the mine closed so abruptly. Children were being  
17 virtually kidnapped -- and I use the word in full  
18 knowledge of its meaning -- and hauled across the  
19 north in the name of law and a better tomorrow away  
20 from family to school. Engineers sited communities  
21 to suit the needs of southerners and no federal  
22 policy was enacted or enforced to ensure that even its  
23 own departments were required to employ northern people  
24 to help to build them at the time they were located.

25 In retrospect, some of the  
26 assumptions of the Industrial Division were terribly  
27 naive, but most of the basic principles underlying  
28 their work and virtually all of their basic approaches  
29 to alternative development have stood the test of 20  
30 years of traumatic change in the Territories.



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In Chief

Simply the Division set out to work with local people using their knowledge, their expertise, in concert with other knowledges and other expertise, to create a pattern of development allowing people to retain important values and lifestyles while using resources and structures in new and acceptable ways. In specified areas, a resource inventory was developed and appropriate resources exploited for local, area, southern and foreign use. To do so required a very broad spectrum of abilities, skills, and experiences.

I think the fact that those elements of experience and skills were brought together for a brief time was probably the key to whatever success Canada had in the '50s and '60s in renewable resources project developments.

In that Industrial Division were area resource surveyors who made extensive use of local people and knowledge; physical project developers; economists and other planners; community developers; market research and promotion specialists, tourism and crafts specialists, co-operative development officers, food processing experts and industrial designers, all inter-related in their activities, all part of an extremely broad-based approach to total resource development. They all worked in concern, but not always in harmony, but they worked closely and always together. In that they were treading new ground for there were no precedents on which to base their actions. Canada simply





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In Chief

had had no experience in these fields at all from the mid-1950s on.

The description of one of their efforts in creating a new approach to alternate resource development in one area has been well documented in a book on the George River in Ungava Bay, and in an award-winning documentary film, and needs not be described here. Suffice it that from the combined efforts of inspiring local people and resourceful Industrial Development people came an experiment with very important and lasting implications and results for the north.

It was no accident that the George River was the home of Canada's first Arctic Co-Operative, the site of its first co-operatively owned store in the Arctic, to develop a monopoly position for itself. I'm not certain whether it was the first or not. I've forgotten whether Cape Dorset was the first, or the George River; but in any event it was the first one which developed a monopoly position for itself.

The first Inuit privately owned tourist camp, and the home of the most lucrative winter resource business in the Canadian north. It was no accident that George River people quickly developed an awareness of their political and economic potential at a time when there were enormous pressures to resettle on social assistance. It is no accident that George River people understood and practiced early the right to participate fully in



Snowden, Currie  
In C hief

1 decisions being made about their lives, long before  
2 the existence of native organizations elsewhere in  
3 the north. Had those early experiments failed it  
4 could conceivably have set back people development  
5 in the north by decades. The critics were lined up  
6 outside Cabinet and filled the service doors, threatened  
7 by an experiment that would destroy forever training  
8 and other business monopolies and the omnipotence of  
9 the bureaucrats. We were part of that bureaucracy.

10 The fact that such an organiza-  
11 tion could be created within the Federal Government  
12 at all is an illustration of the kind of innovation  
13 Canada was prepared to allow in the north in one  
14 brief period from 1955 lasting less than a decade.  
15 I make that distinction because at that time, of course,  
16 there was no Territorial Government. The Territorial  
17 Civil Service was in Ottawa, and I'm going to make  
18 that allusion to the Government of Canada, it is with  
19 that in mind. Yet the organization -- that is the  
20 Industrial Division-- while to a surprising degree  
21 self-reliant, had to contend with enemies within and  
22 vested interests outside who did not wish to see  
23 local people in any way in a controlling role in the  
24 development of their economy, or in a position to  
25 affect bureaucratic decisions about where, when, and  
26 how they were to live.

27  
28  
29  
30



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 I'm aware of tremendous  
2 changes which have taken place in the country since  
3 that time and I'm confident the same degree of  
4 external control does not exist now but I would  
5 be naive to think it were close to being eliminated.

6 Inside the government service,  
7 there were the other experts whose interest in the  
8 north did not exist or whose self-perceived areas  
9 of interest were being threatened by a new crowd  
10 of boisterous, tough and innovative civil servants.  
11 Viciously inaccurate information and judgments were  
12 given by some of his advisors to the Deputy Minister  
13 of Northern Affairs who was always a good friend  
14 of the Industrial Division.

15 For example, in response to  
16 the first comprehensive proposal on tourist develop-  
17 ment in the whole of the Territories, which emanated  
18 from the Industrial Division, the then head of the  
19 Canadian Government Travel Bureau advised the  
20 distinguished Deputy Minister that there would never  
21 be tourists in the Arctic except perhaps to ski at  
22 Pangnirtung.

23 In response to a proposal  
24 developed by the George River Inuit and the Industrial  
25 Division to establish the first major char fishery  
26 for fresh char, the senior departmental advisor to  
27 the Deputy Minister and representative on the major  
28 inter-departmental committee on Canada's Arctic  
29 policies advised that there were no Arctic char, not  
30 only at the George River but in Ungava Bay. Fortunately,



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In Chief

neither the Minister nor the Deputy Minister paid much heed to such trash.

Unfortunately, absurd and destructive jurisdictional and philosophical differences within the structure of the Government of Canada made an extension of this program throughout the North an impossibility and especially in the Mackenzie Valley, which was so admirably suited to this kind of total approach to development. The fact is that the industrial division was required to keep away from any Indian people, communities or territories as these fell under the jurisdiction of another Federal Department which held responsibility across Canada for Indian Affairs.

It is doubtful if ever in the history of national developmental policies have there been such diametrically opposed philosophies and practices as those in the Industrial Division and in Indian Affairs during the late '50's and early '60's.

The Industrial Division approach again was to work with Arctic peoples in determining the extent of this renewable resource base in developing alternate uses for those resources and in ensuring that any such development placed optimum control in the hands of northern people as quickly as possible. This led, in places, to the creation of producer, consumer and service co-operatives. It also led to head-on confrontation with established interests in the north, some of which





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In Chief

1 had for centuries controlled all facets of economic  
2 life of northern peoples, and it led also to some  
3 harassment from within the Federal civil service.  
4 I would like to end that sentence there because the  
5 example I gave, while it is true, was not the most  
6 significant and it by no means was alone.

7 Projects in the Mackenzie  
8 Delta were afflicted not only with the normal problems  
9 of northern business development in the '50's but  
10 they were inhibited by absurd and irrelevant government  
11 supply procedures, by an ingrained administrative  
12 philosophy among many people here that native peoples  
13 really were second class and anybody who attempted to  
14 expose that question was insane. To them the idea  
15 that local people had any rights to land or to  
16 decision-making was unthinkable at that time.

17 Surprisingly, under both  
18 major political parties of the day, there was support  
19 and sometimes very strong support at the executive  
20 level for the direction the Industrial Division was  
21 taking. Under both administrations there was pressure  
22 against Industrial Division activities applied to  
23 the political arm from such disparate groups as the  
24 major packing companies, the trading monopoly in the  
25 Arctic, American tourist camp developers, and arts  
26 and crafts entrepreneurs, some of whom had more  
27 interest in fleecing the golden sheep, that was the  
28 emerging Eskimo arts and crafts program, than in  
29 helping to ensure sensitive and rational development  
30 of this northern art. Under neither administration



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 was such pressure, for the period until 1964 at least,  
2 able to destroy the highly experimental, high-risk  
3 work being undertaken by the Industrial Division,  
4 nor to my knowledge, were there every suggestions  
5 from the political arm that such activities should  
6 cease or be redirected.

7 Under these circumstances,  
8 one can only wonder in despair about the complex  
9 bureaucratic manipulations that caused this approach  
10 to northern locally-controlled development to be  
11 less inhibited than it ought to have been.

12 A real tragedy, of course,  
13 was that jurisdictional boundaries of the day allowed  
14 the Industrial Division to work in the most sparse  
15 resource areas of the Arctic, but not in the richer,  
16 more diversified whole of the Mackenzie Valley.  
17 That land occupied by Indians was forbidden fruit  
18 to Northern Affairs. Nor was it fruit which Indian  
19 Affairs showed any interest in cultivating at that  
20 time. It had virtually no interest in seeing northern  
21 Indians as anything but passive, disenfranchised,  
22 dependents of a remote and reluctant state.

23 Local control, co-operative  
24 development and experimentation based on a conviction  
25 that northern resources could be used in innovative  
26 and economically sensible ways by northern people were  
27 regarded as the conviction of fools and heretics by  
28 some Indian Affairs senior staff. I realize these  
29 are strong words but I lived through it and know what  
30 I speak. Nor was there any interest in working with



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In Chief

Northern Affairs in local resource development projects.

I discuss next some relevant development characteristics which are present in the Territories today, some of which are not I think, but which are characteristics of under-developed areas of all the world.

There are certain universal developmental characteristics which apply generally to the whole of the third world and which inhibit development there. They apply to the Mackenzie Valley and it is important that they be stated here before this presentation outlines a different development strategy, one which optimizes human and renewable resource use at a pace consistent with the desires and abilities of local people. It can lead to the removal of such inhibiting developmental characteristics as follows. Some are present characteristics in the Territories and some are not.

1. Development is frequently conceived by external developers as creating dependency rather than self-reliance.

2. There are a few opportunities for local communities freely to initiate development.

3. Economic development is perceived of by most external developers as the only kind of development. It is an essential but by no means exclusive aspect of meaningful local development programs.

4. Local development programs





Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 are often required to make use of inappropriate  
2 technologies and systems.

3 5. Indicators of success  
4 for local projects have not yet been satisfactorily  
5 developed and most especially in the mid-north and  
6 far north of Canada.

7 6. Local knowledge and  
8 expertise are too infrequently brought into full  
9 use, with resultant unnecessary and often exorbitant  
10 expenditures.

11 7. Local knowledge and  
12 expertise are almost never allowed to play a  
13 significant part in the whole development process.  
14 That is, conceptualization, research, planning,  
15 implementation and evaluation.

16 8. The scale of development  
17 is often inappropriate to the area.

18 9. The pace of development  
19 is often disruptive and destructive because people  
20 are often left unaware of developmental implications.

21 10. There is never a total  
22 approach to area resource development. This leads  
23 to a perpetuation of inefficiency in use of resources.

24 11. Expenditures of public  
25 and private monies usually must show results in a  
26 time-frame consistent with that of the financing  
27 institution. Such practices are meaningless in  
28 relation to the success of local projects and local  
29 development. It is highly improbable government  
30 agencies could ever change such constraints.



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1                   It is, therefore, imperative  
2 to consider developmental alternatives to government  
3 control of the pace and dimension of alternative  
4 resource use. This is not to suggest government has  
5 not a role to play. It does have. Especially in  
6 various types of research, appropriate technological  
7 development, product design, marketing and so on.

8                   In short, the type of  
9 services that governments in Canada have so freely  
10 and for such an extended period offered to the  
11 Canadian business and industrial communities of  
12 southern Canada. I should point out here that in  
13 Alaska it has even been suggested in the form of  
14 draft legislation before the Alaska legislature  
15 that the Alaskan civil service should be available  
16 to rural boroughs of Alaska at an economic fee  
17 rental, on an economic fee rental basis. That evolved  
18 through a suggestion that has been made to the  
19 Alaskan legislature by groups representing virtually  
20 all rural people in Alaska, that they had an  
21 entitlement to lands which came under the oil royalties  
22 and that they proposed a formula for distribution of  
23 those which was based in two parts; one on population  
24 in each borough and one on the difference between the  
25 mean average <sup>income</sup> for the State of Alaska and the average  
26 income in each burough.

27                   What they were proposing  
28 essentially was that certain specialized services  
29 which are not available at the borough level should  
30 be made available to them on a rental basis from the



Snowden, Carrie  
In Chief

1 State Legislature. I mention that only as an interesting  
2 although not yet activated concept of the way to use  
3 a specialized civil service in northern parts of the  
4 continent.  
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Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

The settlement of land claims would provide a critical source of funding and allow control of alternate development to be vested in people of the Mackenzie Valley, making use of whatever skills needed to be hired in addition to their own. They might wish to consider establishing a development corporation, which might function in the following manner:

1. Initial area resource studies, done with a great deal of input from local people, including human skills inventories.
2. An examination of that research.
3. Development possibilities are proposed and costs determined.
4. Market studies are undertaken within the community throughout the region and external to the region.
5. Exposure of development ideas to all local people, modifications and alternatives devised based on their reactions; organization of project responsibilities, and determination of extent to which skills and resources are available in the community or the region, and the extent and dimensions of training required to provide skills from the area, decisions as to which skills, on at least an interim basis, require to be imported. Also part of the component is an analysis of the amount of training required and anticipated revenues.
6. Continuous extension and continuing education work.
7. Organization of capital equipment and human resources.





Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 8. Project under way.

2 9. I think this has been too infrequently built  
3 into project development in the north so far, regular  
4 evaluation leading to modifications, expansion or  
5 shutdown.

6 10. Product assembly, package design, and market  
7 development.

8 As I mentioned earlier, my  
9 experience has shown that all the required skills must  
10 be allowed free access to one another, under a single  
11 administrative authority. I'm sorry you don't have  
12 the last page. It somehow got lost in the mail so I  
13 would like to add that, if I may.

14 What I have been describing  
15 here is something that might be potential for the  
16 long run. I have no illusions about the immediate  
17 settlement of land claims. There is an interim  
18 alternative available potentially to the Northwest  
19 Territories. Within the past three years in the mid-  
20 north across Canada the provinces have had the  
21 opportunity to become involved in partnership with  
22 the Federal Government, in a program called,  
23 "The Western Northlands Program."  
24 To my knowledge, it is the most inspired program of  
25 its kind we have seen in this country, and some  
26 provinces, notably Manitoba and Saskatchewan, have  
27 taken advantage of the program to assist in development  
28 of their north.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: What  
30 department of the Federal Government?



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

A                      The Department of  
Regional Economic Expansion, but it has been done  
with a rare degree of co-operation between Indian  
and Northern Affairs, Manpower, Department of Regional  
Economic Expansion, Agriculture, Finance, and the  
Provincial Government, and which for the first time  
really has played its co-ordinating role, which is  
its mandate.

Under this Western Northlands program, which I believe could be made available to the Northwest Territories, I have reason to believe that there are consultations taking place now and discussions taking place on this, there is an opportunity to develop projects within a much more flexible context than through any other government type of program which I know. It would be a means of alternate funding of the kind of renewable resource development projects of which we've spoken, and it would be a means of ensuring that such funding was available much quicker than other sources which may be of much more permanency, are likely to be available.

I'd like to make some final observations, if I might. I do so, recognizing two things, that as I said at the start, my own intimate exposure to this country occurred a number of years ago and ended to all intents and purposes in Canada 12 years ago. Not so in Alaska, I've worked in Alaska quite a bit since then.

But I have read testimony which has been given to you from amazingly diverse sources



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In Chief

from the former director of the Economic Development Division of the Territorial Government, for example, on the one hand, and from COPE, if I may put it that way, on another hand. Throughout the whole of this testimony which deals with this matter I have seen repeated allusions to the poverty of northern peoples in the Northwest Territories. That poverty is described in many ways, and it's been described to you frequently. I'm sure that that poverty exists, I'm sure that it is something which is felt keenly by people who live here and observe it and are part of it. I have not been away from the Northwest Territories for a whole period of 13 or 14 years. I have been back and the Territories today, parts of it in which I have been, and the northern part of the provinces -- Quebec in particular -- are far different to what they were 13, 14, 12 years ago. People are infinitely better off. People don't starve any more, in the physical sense of the word. There are still people starving in other ways, as there are all over the world, all over the development world.

When I was chairman of the Royal Commission on Labrador I became incensed at the unfair treatment that was being accorded the native peoples, not of the Northwest Territories, you are at the top of the hierarchy of native peoples of the north in this country; Northwest Territories at the top, the Province of Quebec next, and at the very bottom, the native peoples of the Labrador coast.





Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 If you want to see real poverty among native  
2 peoples, Indian peoples and Inuit peoples in this  
3 country, that's where you go. I think this country  
4 is attacked and accused very often -- and very  
5 often correctly -- for abuse, for lack of concern of  
6 the state of the northern person. But I think it's  
7 relative and I think that what has been done in the  
8 Northwest Territories in many respects has been far  
9 more than has been done elsewhere in the Canadian  
10 north.

11 My second of three final  
12 observations is that I have made a lot of remarks  
13 about governments and their role in the Territories.  
14 My remarks don't stem from a conviction that nothing  
15 has been done or nothing is being done, or that there  
16 are no good people working in the Territorial Government  
17 or in the Government of Canada related to the north.  
18 Of course there are, there are superb people.

19 Nor do I believe all the  
20 programs are useless, or serving little use. There  
21 are humane and sensitive people and imaginative and  
22 progressive policies. My concern is that as a Territory  
23 and as a nation we have still not afforded to the  
24 mid-north of our country and the far-north of the  
25 country the importance which should be attached to  
26 the development of a total resource base. We develop  
27 the forests or we develop the fisheries, or we  
28 develop marine mammals productivity production, or we  
29 develop handicrafts, or we develop something else.  
30 We do not yet in this country anywhere have a



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comprehensive program of resource development based on the total potential use of the resources. I regard employment as one of those resources; because I haven't mentioned employment it does not mean that I think it's unimportant or that I disagree with employment in the Territories. Most people, I suspect, like to be employed, at least part of the year; but employment is part of the total opportunity to be productive and we so often regard employment as the summum bonum, the only alternative.

Where I live, year-around employment has never been a part of life for most people, and yet they are highly productive for much of the year. They have developed a lifestyle which makes use of a variety of seasonal resources. In the woods in the wintertime; on the water in the summertime; in the springtime repairing their gear and getting ready for the fishery. It's only on the whole coast of Labrador it's only since the LIP program started that there has ever been winter employment, and I think it's a sorry testimony to this country's concern for a sound developmental planning for areas like the Labrador coast, that such ad hocery should be the start of employment in the wintertime.

Finally, I don't support the myth that northern people really want to return to life on the land the way it was 20 years or more ago. I don't think that is really what is wanted or what is desirable from any perspective. But I do believe in their right to a choice of lifestyles and



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1 until all those involved give more serious attention  
2 to a rational total approach to development, with  
3 all options explored, I believe there is no meaning-  
4 ful choice at all. Thank you.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,  
6 Mr. Snowden.

7 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,  
8 do you wish to commence the presentation of Mr. Currie  
9 now, or would you like to wait until afternoon?

10 THE COMMISSIONER: No, I think  
11 if it's all right with you, Mr. Currie, we'll adjourn  
12 for lunch and then you can take a crack at us after  
13 lunch, and we've had a long morning so we'll adjourn  
14 till 2, is that all right?

15 (LETTER TO I. SCOTT FROM J.B. MACLEOD, SEPTEMBER  
16 7, 1976 MARKED EXHIBIT 775)

17 (DELTA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, I, BY MANFORCE  
18 RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, MARKED EXHIBIT 776)

19 (DELTA EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT, II, BY MANFORCE  
20 RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, MARKED EXHIBIT 777)

21 (MACKENZIE RIVER VALLEY TRANSPORTATION SUBMISSION,  
22 SEPTEMBER 1976 MARKED EXHIBIT 778)

23 (QUALIFICATIONS & EVIDENCE OF D. SNOWDEN MARKED  
24 EXHIBIT 779)

25  
26 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)  
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28  
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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner, Mr. Currie is going to give his evidence and it begins with an introductory statement that government officials have at times adopted at this Inquiry and Mr. Currie has asked me if it would be just sufficient to say that he adopts that statement.

THE COMMISSIONER: We'll take it as read, Mr. Currie. We've heard it before and we know it well and we understand that your evidence is given subject to those considerations and that's perfectly all right.

MR. BAYLY: Do you want to start then, Mr. Currie, I think on the second page of your presentation.

WITNESS CURRIE: Yes. Many parts of Canada, including the undeveloped Northwest Territories contain renewable resources which if sought out, identified and managed scientifically, could become important new reservoirs of food and be of increasing and enduring benefit to the native northern people.

As world populations increase every day, it becomes more imperative that every country should prepare its plans and begin to bring every section of its environment to maximum productivity. It is a global responsibility.

Those who contend that the old way of life is dying in the North and that the renewable resource base and the harvest are minimal are





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1 only looking at the North as it is today.

2 If scientists and biologists  
3 analyzed the land, fresh water, and the marine habitat,  
4 and worked with the people in programs where their  
5 knowledge is put to developmental use, in a very  
6 few years startling improvements could be made in the  
7 value of the renewable resources of the environment.

8 The north as it is today  
9 could be transformed if and when the proper approaches  
10 are taken. Time is running out and action is needed.

11 In the Beaufort Sea there  
12 are fish populations that can be developed, spawned  
13 and reared to market size. Herring, cod, inconnu,  
14 crab, shrimp, char and many other species are known  
15 to exist there. In the marine environment, no attempt  
16 has ever been made to work out such programs. But the  
17 potential is in the sea, as it is in the sprawling  
18 channels of the mighty Mackenzie, as it is in the  
19 fruits, herbs and plants that cover the coastal  
20 plains, and as it is in the animals and birds that  
21 survive without any assistance.

22 The mighty life cycles can  
23 be protected. Strategically placed winter food caches  
24 can prevent animal starvation; fertilization and  
25 management of the land can increase the sustainable  
26 animal yield by increasing the food on which they live.

27 Native wild fruits and  
28 edible plants can be cultivated to produce crops of  
29 rich nutritious food in the short intense growing  
30 season.



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1 season.

2 If an action-oriented resource  
3 development institute were established on the Yukon  
4 coast, for example, and if it were staffed by  
5 imaginative scientists and biologists prepared to  
6 make the enhancement of the renewable resources their  
7 life's work in co-operation with the knowledge and  
8 wisdom of the native people, they could bring  
9 unprecedented productivity to the area within a ten  
10 year span of time.

11 This is an essential  
12 undertaking which must go hand in hand with harvesting.  
13 Intensified harvesting alone will ravage the  
14 environment of the northern land and sea as it has  
15 ravaged the forests, lakes and rivers and oceans of  
16 the south. Whole species can vanish as the buffalo  
17 and the passenger pigeon did. Scientifically managed,  
18 planted, cultivated and protected, the northern  
19 environment will yield every-increasing harvests.

20 Those who contend that the  
21 old way of life is dying in the north may be correct,  
22 but it may be more correct to say that with the  
23 application of scientific and technological principles  
24 that can and must be put to work, the north may be  
25 on the threshold of a new and abundant life.

26 The true value of the  
27 Mackenzie and the Beaufort Sea; in fact of the whole  
28 environment of the western Arctic and the land will  
29 not be known until it is developed.

30 A small portion of the mind-



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1 boggling sums which have been made available for the  
2 search for oil, a non-renewable resource, would give  
3 competent and determined scientists and the native  
4 people a meaningful start in this direction.

5 The marine biological system  
6 must be considered and protected from the perils of  
7 damage and destruction which can occur if oil explodes  
8 to spread a blanket of death over the estuaries in  
9 the Mackenzie and the Beaufort Sea. It can spread  
10 far beyond this area, as you have heard, interfering  
11 with the supply of oxygen and fouling the habitats  
12 of birds and mammals.

13 I would like to tell you  
14 how renewable resource development is being undertaken  
15 in the Bras d'Or Lakes of Cape Breton. I assure you  
16 it is relevant, for even though Cape Breton is far  
17 to the south and east of us, the principles of  
18 scientific environmental development now in action  
19 there can and must be brought to bear on many parts  
20 of the north, and certainly these principles can and  
21 must be applied to the Yukon Littoral.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Sir, could  
23 you hold the microphone a little closer to you, if you  
24 don't mind.

25 A Because we are a few  
26 people living in the second largest country in the  
27 world with two great oceans and nearly 15% of the  
28 fresh water of the world, we have managed to survive  
29 even though we are probably the world's worst house-  
30 keepers. We have dealt blow after blow to our natural





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1 resources and used and continue to use them in a  
2 manner that would have long ago bankrupted countries  
3 with less land and sea and far greater populations  
4 totally dependent on the proper use of these resources  
5 for their survival.

6 (QUALIFICATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF RALPH CURRIE MARKED  
7 EXHIBIT 780)

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1                   We have pillaged our  
2                   forests, mutilated our inland <sup>and</sup> ocean fisheries, pollu-  
3                   ted our lakes and rivers. We have played havoc with our  
4                   resources in the places we are working today knowing  
5                   that there were virgin areas beyond the horizons that  
6                   we could attack tomorrow in our headlong conquest  
7                   of nature.

8                   That type of onslaught on our  
9                   ocean resources has brought our wild fish stocks down  
10                  to levels where many species have been virtually wiped  
11                  out, and many others are endangered. The rapid  
12                  decline in offshore fish has forced the government to  
13                  inject annually increasing subsidies to keep the  
14                  industry going. Annually decreasing catches from once  
15                  teeming but now nearly empty fishing grounds is forcing  
16                  thousands of Maritime fishermen out of their historic  
17                  oc cupation.

18                  Now, let us look at the  
19                  Bras d'Or Lakes of Cape Breton, an almost landlocked  
20                  inland sea with a surface area of about 450 square  
21                  miles. The Bras d'Or might be compared to the Husky  
22                  Lakes in some ways, in that they are a nearly landlocked  
23                  inland sea.

24                  The Bras d'Or Lakes were a  
25                  rich oyster area and mounds of shells yet remain  
26                  around the old campsites, testifying to the fact that  
27                  for thousands of years the Micmac Indians relied  
28                  heavily upon them as a source of nutritious food.  
29                  By 1966 the oyster stocks had been almost wiped out,  
30                  as in many of the other fish species, through continual



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and increasing harvesting. Where hundreds of fishermen had once seasonally engaged in the fishery, only a handful remained. The Bras d'Or was exhausted and hundreds of people had moved to other parts of the country to make a living.

In 1967 a group of Micmac Indians from the Eskasoni Reserve formed a study club under the leadership of Fred Young. I just would like to say here that Fred Young is a man with very little education but he has tremendous imagination in all fields. He's almost a genius. They met regularly each week for nearly three years to discuss the fate of the oysters and to study ways and means of resurrecting the stocks. (It is important to note that until the Micmacs took action, the Bras d'Or Lakes had for years been written off as of no importance).

No one had ever looked at the massive potential that moved silent and invisible in the clear blue depths. Dr. M.M. Coady, the dynamic priest of St. Francis Xavier University, was the exception. In 1930 he told the people around Bras d'Or that they were making a commendable effort cultivating the 8 to 10-inches of topsoil on rocky Cape Breton, but they were ignoring the massive blue prairies of water confronting them. He forecast that marine farming, the cultivation of the lakes along scientific lines would one day produce more food than all the land in Cape Breton. No one understood him; no one took action; not the people, not the Department of Fisheries. Everyone in Cape Breton was thinking



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1 about the non-renewable resources of coal, steel,  
2 gypsum, even as most people now seem to be hypnotized  
3 with the search for oil. No one was thinking about  
4 the renewable resources of the Bras d'Or Lakes, and  
5 in this situation I suspect even less people are  
6 aware of the potential of the renewable resources of  
7 the Beaufort Sea, indeed of the whole Western Arctic.

8 But the Micmas were awake  
9 and their own natural wisdom, coupled with the scienti-  
10 fic pamphlets they had studied, had given them a  
11 picture of the billions of eggs spawned by oysters  
12 each summer, eggs that fertilized by the male sperm,  
13 became billions of swimming larvae. They knew of this  
14 prolific reproduction but they also knew that only a  
15 fraction of the young oysters survived. They were  
16 determined men, pioneers, dedicated to the task of  
17 creating conditions in the lake whereby millions of  
18 oysters could be saved, grown to maturity, processed  
19 and sold as rich food.

20 I was sent to Eskasoni in  
21 1969 at the request of the Band Council. My terms of  
22 reference were to find out what the people wanted to do  
23 and to help them do it. I was a harvester of the  
24 sea as five generations of my people had been before  
25 me. I knew nothing about oysters or marine farming,  
26 or about the invisible potential of the sea. This I  
27 admitted in my first meeting with the people. I told  
28 them that I'd only discovered the word "spat" meant  
29 young oysters by reading a pamphlet a week ago. All my  
30 life I only knew the word was the past tense of the





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1 verb "to spit".

2 This was unimportant. What  
3 we had to do was to seek out scientists and biologists  
4 who knew everything about oysters and to get them  
5 to ally themselves with the Micmacs. We set out and  
6 by the end of the month we had knocked on many doors,  
7 visited every research station in the Maritimes. We  
8 were disappointed to find scores of fisheries experts  
9 negative and unresponsive. They seemed annoyed at  
10 this invasion by scientifically illiterate people  
11 pressing for an action in what they seemed to regard  
12 as their private domain.



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But we found what we were looking for -- four men, two of whom were the most knowledgeable scientists in North America on oysters and the marine environment. They went to work with the Indians and with funds supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs, the Eskasoni oyster farming project got under way.

The key man was Dr. Roy Drinnan. He gave the Indians the concept of catching and growing oysters on strings of scallop shells suspended from rafts floating on the surface, where food is plentiful and where they (the oysters) are safe from their mortal enemies, the starfish. We had been confined in our thinking to the use of the very limited hard bottom areas of the lake. Can you let me explain that, please? The most of the Bras d'Or bottom is mud and when this spatfall occurs, the young oysters swim for 18 days and then they have to find a permanent hard substance to stick onto, to glue themselves fast to and that's where they spend their lives. In our initial assessment of the lake, if you look at that wall over there, we had one panel of that whole wall which was a hard bottom area suitable for them to find a place to grow. The rest of it was mud, and with this concept of surface rearing flotation, this gave us the whole surface of the lake to deal with. The flotation concept raised our sites and expanded our potential oyster farming area to include every protected area of the 450 square miles of the lake's surface.



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In 1972 the Indians sent a delegation to Japan and for two weeks they saw the highly developed oyster floatation systems in action. They saw extensive inland seas covered with oyster rafts. They saw the dreams they had of the Bras d'Or Lakes a reality in Japan.

By now they had millions of young oysters growing. Encouraged by their progress and ready to share their knowledge, the Eskasoni people prepared a brief and sent it to all provincial and federal leaders. They outlined what they had accomplished in two years. They asked that the whole Bras d'Or be considered for a major thrust in the marine farming of oysters and all other species. The presentation received unanimous public support and gained official interest.

Jean Marchand, who was then Minister of DREE, advised that his department was extremely interested and would support such a program. Shortly after, Tom Kent became president of the Cape Breton Development Corporation (DEVCO), a finger of DREE in the island. He moved quickly and established the DEVCO Marine Farming Division.

A significant change has taken place in the past six years. What was regarded as a worthless waste of water is now under active cultivation. Five Indian co-operatives, the DEVCO Marine Farming Division, and scores of groups and individuals are engaged in oyster and trout farming. Dr. Coady's forecast is coming true.





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Hundreds of oyster rafts dot the lakes, and captive trout cages float off several acclimatization sites. Trout hatcheries are being constructed and hatcheries that have been closed for years are being reactivated. There is a note here that perhaps I should expand on that a little more. The actual number of people that are more or less permanently working on this now would be in the vicinity of 125 people; but at various times in the year when the preparations are being made for the spatfall, in each community there are 50 or 60 additional people working in the manufacture of shell strings, and this fall is their first harvest. So what we forecast for that lake is that within seven years we will have an annual production valued in fish of all species in the vicinity of \$50 million. That's not a dream; that is a very realistic figure. Trout hatcheries that were closed are being reactivated. They are needed to produce fish from disease-free eggs to stock the sea farms. The development is gaining momentum.

The College of Cape Breton has formed the Bras d'Or Acquacultural Institute, and at their last conference over 200 fisheries' scientists and biologists attended, and many people from the Canadian, U.S., and foreign fishing industries were there. They, the College of Cape Breton, have published a valuable book, scientifically oriented, of the past, present, and future of the Bras d'Or area. The Bras d'Or enterprise, started by the Micmacs, is



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1 attracting international attention.

2 Plans are under way for the  
3 construction of an Acquacultural Institute on the  
4 lake edge. A presentation is being prepared for  
5 government requesting that a new dynamic department  
6 be set up and staffed by a determined, dynamic, for-  
7 ward-looking breed of scientists with the sole  
8 responsibility of taking the results of years of  
9 research now reposing in the archives and translating  
10 it into action programs in the sea.

11 This demonstration should  
12 be carried out on a commercial scale with every  
13 possible species of fish in at least two coastal  
14 zones set aside as designated areas in each of the  
15 Maritime Provinces. The experience gained can be  
16 used to set up similar sea farms along our whole  
17 coastline.

18 To sum up, the people and  
19 the scientists are hard at work making Bras d'Or into  
20 the richest piece of water in North America. They are  
21 creating a bold new modern industry that will, within  
22 ten years, be producing thousands of tons of sea food  
23 and will be providing meaningful employment and  
24 income for hundreds of people. Despite problems that  
25 are bound to impede them, they will succeed.

26 Prior to 1969, the whole  
27 thrust for new development in Cape Breton had been  
28 in the direction of the establishment of new and often  
29 exotic industries. Large sums of money were injected  
30 into the projects quite unsuitable to the area, many



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1 of which failed. Now a natural resource has been  
2 identified by the people. There is nothing exotic  
3 about it. It is pure Maritime, and the fishermen and  
4 the general public are intensely interested and  
5 proud of the progress being made.

6 If any type of new industry  
7 were suggested that might endanger the Bras d'Or environ-  
8 ment, there would be militant opposition from  
9 every direction. Even as the Eskimos and Indians  
10 stand at the gates striving to protect their land and  
11 sea against possible disruption, so would the Cape  
12 Bretoners defend their newly discovered resource, and  
13 the fish farmers would receive all the protection  
14 needed to carry out their programs in safety.

15 In many respects, the Indians  
16 and Eskimos are like the Micmacs of Bras d'Or. They  
17 may be more aware of their resources and more interested  
18 in their development than we realize. Has the  
19 potential ever been thoroughly investigated and a  
20 program of enhancement ever been undertaken by people  
21 and scientists, and I mean in this area? Have any  
22 concrete comprehensive programs ever been undertaken?  
23 In 1963 I spent November and December working with  
24 the Indians and Eskimos of Inuvik and Aklavik investi-  
25 gating the renewable resources of the Yukon coast and  
26 Herschel Island in order to assess what role the  
27 local people from the Mackenzie Delta might play in  
28 their exploitation.



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1 It was a rough time of year  
2 to do a survey and most of my information was supplied  
3 by the people, many of whom were interested in the  
4 possibility of the development of permanent and  
5 seasonal satellite settlements. Here is a list of  
6 the resources they identified: white whales, seals,  
7 Arctic char, cisco, blue herring, inconnu, whitefish,  
8 trout, bowhead whales, caribou, polar bears, white  
9 foxes, barren ground grizzly, king crab, moose, geese,  
10 ptarmigan and numerous edible plants and fruits.  
11 Over two hundred species of wild flowers bloom on  
12 Herschel Island.

13 Herschel Island was chosen  
14 by the people as the most suitable location for a  
15 permanent settlement. Ten families wanted to be  
16 part of the permanent settlement which would have  
17 cost around \$450,000.00. The alternate plan was for  
18 two years of seasonal camps at Herschel to test  
19 the validity of the permanent site. Ten families  
20 were to be involved in this plan which would have  
21 cost around \$84,000.00 the first year and \$59,500.00  
22 the second year.

23 I understand that the  
24 seasonal plan was adopted. Apparently there were  
25 vexing problems encountered in logistics and I doubt  
26 that the project was ever satisfactorily operated.  
27 May I make a comment on that? I left that area and  
28 my information is that the scheduling of the program  
29 was to have the people taken to Herschel Island before  
30 breakup, establish their camps and take advantage of the





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1 sealing which is there and the sea run of the fish.  
2 That did not occur. They didn't get into Herschel  
3 Island until in the summer, after breakup. Then they  
4 were to pick up and carry on from there and get the  
5 seal migration and they were to be brought out before  
6 freeze-up and it's my understanding that that didn't  
7 occur. That scheduling broke down and they were,  
8 in fact, left in Herschel Island over freeze-up and  
9 it was altogether a pretty frustrating experience.  
10 I don't think that it was ever pursued after that  
11 first season.

12 I think that I would like  
13 to make a comment there too, if I may, and that is  
14 that this is the type of thing that breaks down the  
15 fiber of enterprises. If scheduling is not kept,  
16 and you've only got three or four months in which  
17 to do it, unless you work night and day and keep  
18 those schedules dead on target, the project goes  
19 to pieces. It isn't the fact that it's not a good  
20 project or not a good area or that the resources aren't  
21 there; it's just a matter of scheduling.

22 I believe it does not matter.  
23 Its time will come. Perhaps we lit a penny candle  
24 from a star.

25 In that situation we only  
26 looked at what were safe, sustainable yields. We  
27 did not even consider resource enhancement. To my  
28 knowledge now, there is not a project of the nature  
29 and extent of the Bras d'Or program anywhere on this  
30 continent. Certainly I have not heard of this kind



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1 of development in the Northwest Territories. It  
2 seems that we regard our northern seas as areas of  
3 low productivity, present and potential, and tend  
4 to regard them as poor compared to southern waters.

5 But is that the case? Who  
6 really knows? We always seem to look at the North  
7 through the wrong end of a spyglass. The Indians  
8 and Eskimos know the real value of their renewable  
9 resources better than anyone. We may be overlooking  
10 the potential as all but the Micmacs overlooked the  
11 potential of the Bras d'Or Lakes area.

12 Only the native people know  
13 the great tides of life that run in the mighty  
14 Mackenzie and around the Yukon coast. Only they  
15 truly understand how hospitable the north can be.  
16 Most of us are burning with zeal to conquer nature,  
17 even though our southern areas contain thousands  
18 of square miles of land and water reduced to ruins  
19 through brutal exploitation, brutal conquest.

20 The North has kept us pretty  
21 much at bay. But in this situation, we are maximizing  
22 the urgency of our need and minimizing the dangers,  
23 maximizing the quick cash and jobs in a crash program  
24 of exploitation and construction and minimizing and  
25 rationalizing the long-term destructive effects it  
26 may have on the people and on the environment.

27 Today, I look back on this  
28 effort, the Herschel Island effort, and I say  
29 satellite settlements, yes, but scientific satellite  
30 settlements with dedicated brilliant men and women



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1 working with the native people, invigorating the north  
2 through seeding, cultivating, harvesting; welding  
3 the whole ecological system together, probing the  
4 future, advance posts of science and civilization.

5 Perhaps we can move this  
6 concept forward in the north because it is still there,  
7 still virgin. All the test fishing we have done,  
8 the tiny isolated projects we have carried out in  
9 harvesting, all the isolated scientific explorations  
10 have given us the headlights we need to move ahead.  
11 Perhaps everything has conspired to halt our headlong  
12 and bring us to this situation at this point in time.  
13 Consider this well. Put it before the native people.  
14 Put it to the government. Put it to the scientists  
15 and the men and women of spirit. This is our  
16 opportunity, our duty to set up a corporation, gather  
17 the most brilliant, indomitable scientists and  
18 administrators and begin this program.

19 A network of scientific  
20 action centers could be built at strategic points  
21 along the shores and islands of the western Arctic.  
22 There will be no possibility of spreading a blanket  
23 of death. There will be no drying up of the wells of  
24 life as there will be surely with the wells of oil.  
25 The native people will not be "joe boys" to construction  
26 projects and unemployed when the job is done. They  
27 will be fully employed for all time to come, on their  
28 own land, on their own terms, at one with the great  
29 majestic rhythms of nature. Better to build a northern  
30 town on the strength and vitality of the renewable





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1 resources that are resurgent. Better this than to  
2 imperil life in the great northern area for years to  
3 come for a temporary easement of our current energy  
4 problems.

5 Now, with your permission,  
6 I would like to make some comments that will perhaps  
7 be unacceptable to many people.

8 In my opinion, the Indians  
9 and Eskimos are being subjected to massive pressures,  
10 to open the gates to their historic lands and allow  
11 the southern powers to tap the storehouses of  
12 fossil fuel. The native people, though they may be  
13 few in number, have for thousands of years been the  
14 proprietors of the north with powerful rights which  
15 must be respected.

16 The picture being presented  
17 to the majority of Canadians is lopsided. The over-  
18 powering publicity that enters the homes of every  
19 Canadian family who owns a television set, even  
20 through public address systems in Mirabel Airport,  
21 I have been told, must prejudice the average Canadian  
22 in favor of quick exploitation. These high powered  
23 advertisements, if you like, show men and machines  
24 engaged in herculean tasks, building artificial  
25 islands in a hostile zone, committing mind-boggling  
26 sums of money all in the interest of spellbound oil  
27 hungry Canadians who are told that if these operations  
28 are allowed to continue unhindered, they will save  
29 us from impending darkness and cold.

30 When it infrequently happens,



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1 the native people appear on the screen or talk on the  
2 CBC radio, I fear the great majority of viewers see  
3 them as conscientious objectors, as dogs in a manger,  
4 not able to develop their own resources, unable to  
5 extract badly needed oil, trying to prevent or impede  
6 the valiant programs presented by the companies.



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Let me tell you a story.

Whenever I hear the announcers blasting out their dramatic story of the herculean efforts being made by intrepid men to find oil, whenever I see color television zeroing in on men of steel flinging around chains under harsh Arctic conditions, I remember an incident that occurred in Frobisher Bay. Led by an ice-breaker, seven 10,000-ton cargo ships were steaming slowly in through fairly thick and very heavy ice. It was 4 A.M. and I was leaning over the rail of the bridge. It was a scene to stir a man's blood; the wild red sky, the great ships with radars turning ceaselessly, the rhythm of the big diesels and the big boom of steel prows striking ice, we certainly looked pretty. Then came a nasty sound like an angry bee approaching. It was an 18-foot canoe charging up the bay through the twisted channels of open water. There was the healthiest, happiest Eskimo I have ever seen at the helm with two beaming youngsters and a beautiful wife. The canoe was log-loaded with seals and char. He came alongside, threw an Arctic char to the cook and raced ahead of us to Frobisher. Not one of us on the ships was as at home and as happy as that family. We were in what we regarded, looked upon as a hostile environment; he was in his glory, enjoying the hospitality of his friendly surroundings.

The programs of the oil companies are clear and understandable. They have been developed, prepared, designed, and presented by experts



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 at tremendous expense. The Eskimos and Indians  
2 are perhaps not so expert or well-equipped to make  
3 their presentation. But it is not in their lack of  
4 understanding of the circumstances facing them that  
5 the trouble lies. They understand it too well. It  
6 is not that they fail to explain clearly their con-  
7 cern. They do that with supreme clarity. The trouble  
8 lies rather in the southern Canadians' inability to  
9 understand their position or to understand what they  
10 are saying.

11 Perhaps we would be better  
12 able to see their point of view if we, the 24,000,000  
13 of us, were facing a multitude of people who out-  
14 numbered us as southern Canadians outnumber the native  
15 people involved; an army of millions of people impat-  
16 ient with anything different from their concept of  
17 exploitation; people armed with all the means of  
18 communication, legal expertise, all the technical  
19 knowledge, the machinery of government on their side.  
20 If we were standing guard at the gates of Canada as  
21 the Indians and Eskimos are defending the gates of the  
22 Northwest Territories, only if we could truly see our-  
23 selves in their minority predicament, can we comprehend  
24 the anxiety of the people and understand ~~their~~ concern  
25 for the fundamental rights and freedoms, and the sacred  
26 principles of self-determination they know are at  
27 stake in this historic situation.

28 No one can say we are facing  
29 a great population explosion and need more room. On  
30 both sides of our main north, south, <sup>east</sup> and west communi-





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1 cation systems there are hundreds of thousands of  
2 square miles of land and water containing resources  
3 greater than anything possessed by any other 24,000,000  
4 people under the sun. With the exception of the  
5 cultivated land, scarcely any of these areas has ever  
6 been touched by sound management. We have sea  
7 resources in two great oceans which we are attacking  
8 as if they were our deadly enemies which we must and  
9 will annihilate. Every statistical communique proves  
10 we will soon be victorious.

11 There will be no fish left  
12 in the sea.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,  
14 Mr. Currie.

15 MR. BAYLY: That completes  
16 the evidence of this panel in chief, Mr. Commissioner,  
17 and both Mr. Currie and Mr. Snowden are available  
18 for cross-examination.

19 We did find that Ruttan  
20 Report and I did have a chance to look at it briefly  
21 over the lunch hour.

22 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Sigler, do  
23 you have any questions?

24 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.  
25 Just before you go on, Mr. Sigler, the Indian  
26 Brotherhood called <sup>Mr.</sup>Ruttan as a witness to discuss  
27 the development of renewable resources in the Mackenzie  
28 Valley, and I asked Mr. Currie and Mr. Snowden to  
29 take a glance at his evidence and comment on it after  
30 lunch. Did you wish to say anything about it, either



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1 of you?

2 WITNESS SNOWDEN: Mr. Commis-  
3 sioner, I took the opportunity during the lunch hour  
4 to read the Ruttan Report which I had not seen before  
5 in toto. I have one or two observations about it.

6 The first is that I think  
7 Ruttan and I philosophically agree. I am not sure that  
8 he places enough emphasis on the -- on what I regard  
9 as the overwhelming need for serious renewable resource  
10 research in the country. I'm aware of the inventories  
11 that have been undertaken and completed. I'm aware of  
12 some of the techniques of research that have been used  
13 to provide us with immediate answers. I'm aware,  
14 through my own experience, of some of the kinds of  
15 research that are required before we know anything  
16 about fish, Arctic char populations, for example, in  
17 river systems ; and I think that Ruttan also is aware  
18 of those things, but that he doesn't put quite the  
19 emphasis on them as I myself would, as a matter of  
20 the most urgent priority before anything else is  
21 begun.

22 In one place in his report  
23 he talks about the kinds of needs which are required  
24 on a priority basis and he suggests that the  
25 establishment of administrative framework is one of  
26 the early things. I think that's his first priority,  
27 in the sequence of that part of his report.

28 His next is the research  
29 component, and the third is the resource use planning  
30 which should be completed. I myself would put the



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1 administrative structures the lowest of the priorities.  
2 That is simply stating that before the research can  
3 be done, certain administrative structures have to  
4 be developed.

5 I agree completely with his  
6 statements about the way in which all resources  
7 traditionally in Canada have been isolated and  
8 developed individually. That's the point that I  
9 was making this morning. I feel very strongly about  
10 it. I think that that is one of the fundamental  
11 problems of lack of development, lack of sound  
12 development, meaningful development in this country  
13 by people in this country. It's true where I live,  
14 which is in many ways very similar to the Northwest  
15 Territories, that we have simply attacked resource  
16 development on a one-resource basis at a time, and  
17 that we have not put together the knowledge and the  
18 skills, the experiences which we have had in many  
19 types of resource development to bring about a  
20 meaningful social and economic thrust in what we  
21 have in our arrogance, perhaps, regarded as marginal  
22 areas of Canada.

23 I agree also, although I  
24 recall my own statement to you this morning, about the  
25 total inadequacy of renewable resource research, but  
26 I agree with Ruttan also that the renewable resource  
27 complex in this Mackenzie Valley is truly impressive  
28 and immense.

29 I agree finally with his  
30 point that northern people have always had a clear





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1 understanding of the importance of all resources which  
2 are available to them. I think what has not been  
3 clearly understood by northern people and by us is  
4 new and alternative ways of resource use which can  
5 be developed, and I think that this is one of the  
6 most exciting areas for the future of the Mackenzie  
7 Valley. We have, I recall, if I may give you an  
8 example of the first Arctic char fishery that we had  
9 in the Territories for commercial sale in the south,  
10 and in that particular area there was simply no  
11 concept of the sale for cash of a renewable resource.  
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1                                   The kind of very fundamental  
2 explanation that had to be done had to do with such  
3 things as the concept of people paying other people  
4 to cook fish for them in places called restaurants.  
5 The idea of using our technology which is not at all  
6 totally adequate in terms of food processing in parts  
7 of the world like this, to process for retention  
8 throughout lean periods of the year, foods which had  
9 never been available before at those times of the  
10 year was foreign also.

11                                   We have just begun to scratch  
12 that surface of product development in the north and  
13 as I said, I think it's one of the most exciting for  
14 the future of this country and while I agree with  
15 Mr. Ruttan that northern peoples have always known the  
16 way to use effectively the resource base on which  
17 they live, I would make the point that I think that  
18 there are other dimensions to that kind of development  
19 and processing which we as a country have never  
20 fully explored at all and I think they have very  
21 exciting prospects.

22                                   THE COMMISSIONER: Did you  
23 wish to comment on Mr. Ruttan's report, Mr. Currie?

24                                   WITNESS CURRIE: I didn't  
25 get a chance to read it completely but I certainly  
26 think that there is no area of this country that  
27 doesn't have tremendous potential development  
28 possibilities       by enhancing the resources that  
29 are there and I'm a bit of a stranger here now, I  
30 haven't been here since almost nine years, but I have



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1 observed very carefully the terrible problems that  
2 are confronting the north Atlantic fisheries and  
3 the decline of catches which has paralleled the  
4 rise in cost of operations and construction of new  
5 vessels and the thing that maybe has some relevance  
6 to this situation is that species of fish which until  
7 a couple of years ago were regarded as absolutely  
8 useless and scrap are now making up in almost every plant  
9 the greatest percentage of the fish being processed,  
10 because without turning to those new species, the  
11 plants couldn't keep operating.

12 A place I'm well acquainted  
13 with, for example, is northern New Brunswick with  
14 a massive river system and their greatest harvest  
15 of eels in any one year was 800,000 pounds. Now,  
16 that's just using what's there, without any attempt  
17 at scientific enhancement and programs of development,  
18 while the Japanese bring small eels from many parts  
19 of the world into Japan and in an area about the size  
20 of a good airfield, they produce 53,000,000 pounds  
21 of eels. They bring the young ones in and put them  
22 in tanks and bring them to a certain stage and then--  
23 what can you do with any acreage of land if you at  
24 it like we could go at it, if the knowledge we have  
25 in the archives was put to work.

26 I don't think that you can  
27 look at resource harvesting alone anymore. We've  
28 got plenty of examples of what happens if you just  
29 keep harvesting. You've got to apply the knowledge  
30 in the archives of fisheries and agriculture and



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 everywhere else to the land. If you just harvest,  
2 you run out of things to harvest inevitably.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: That's  
4 what you speak of as resource enhancement, is it?

5 A Pardon me?

6 Q Sorry. That's what  
7 you meant by resource enhancement, I take it?

8 A Yes, and I also would  
9 like to say this; look at that wall again. My  
10 experience when I was with the development in the  
11 Arctic was that I would take one panel which would  
12 represent maybe one month of twelve and in that  
13 month I would initiate and carry out furious activity  
14 in the harvesting of fish and the shipping of fish  
15 but there were eleven months when I wasn't there and  
16 these are the eleven uncovered months and this is  
17 the type of development I think that has never been  
18 really programmed or put to work.

19 The accumulation of a whole  
20 lot of projects, all of which are practical and  
21 can be carried out in a community, which would cover  
22 the whole span of twelve months, and a typical  
23 example of what I'm talking about is I was in Atikameg  
24 down here outside of High Prairie in Alberta and  
25 for five furious weeks we harvested, for the first  
26 time in the history of Atikameg Lake, 450,000  
27 pounds of fish, trout, which had never been shipped  
28 commercially in the history of that fishery and it  
29 was the first year of the Freshwater Fish Marketing  
30 Corporation and the agent in Edmonton said it could





Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 not be done. In five weeks, we shipped 450,000 pounds  
2 of commercial quality fish but at the end of five  
3 weeks, I was leaving Atikameg and I met the fisherman  
4 who had done this tremendous job from building a  
5 plant, getting ice when there was no ice left in the  
6 lake and put the whole thing together and carried  
7 it out completely themselves and I met them coming  
8 back and the message that they gave me was this; now  
9 you're going about your business and what do we do  
10 now?

11 MR. BAYLY: I think Mr.  
12 Snowden had a comment on that too, Mr. Commissioner.

13 WITNESS SNOWDEN: At the  
14 risk, I understand you had an incredibly long and  
15 what must have been a very tiresome day yesterday.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: It was  
17 long. It wasn't tiresome. It was very interesting.

18 A I'm sorry. I used the  
19 wrong word. You have a reputation for anything but  
20 that. I wonder if I can make one or two  
21 more comments related to Ruttan's Report and supporting  
22 what Ralph had just said.

23 Ruttan made the point quite  
24 strongly that he believes that benefits from resources,  
25 and he was dealing primarily with renewable resources,  
26 but he meant all resources, should remain primarily  
27 in the north. He was speaking only of the Northwest  
28 Territories. There are two million people in Canada  
29 who live in the mid-north or the far north of this  
30 country and they share in common that same sense of



Snowden, Currie  
In Chief

1 frustration that the land on which they live and on  
2 which they have lived for very long periods of time  
3 has been used by outsiders to extract wealth from  
4 them and they have not been major beneficiaries of  
5 that extraction process.

6 There is, across the whole  
7 of this country and through the Canadian Council on  
8 Rural Development, I worked fairly extensively across  
9 the mid-north. There is, through the whole of the  
10 mid-north of this country, a growing frustration and  
11 articulated anger against the perpetuation of this  
12 inequity and what they regard as an injustice.

13 It's certainly very true  
14 where I live in Labrador, if there was any single thing  
15 that come out most strongly to us in our Commission,  
16 it was that Labradorians were tired of having  
17 their wealth extracted, first of all by Newfoundlanders  
18 and in more recent times, by people from outside  
19 Newfoundland and other parts of Canada and from outside  
20 Canada.

21 They talk very openly there  
22 of some alternate form of political connection and  
23 I think it would be of some interest to people in the  
24 Northwest Territories to know that unlike other parts  
25 of the Canadian far north, the coast of Labrador has  
26 been settled for quite a long period by people of  
27 European extraction. The people on the north coast  
28 of Labrador are, for the most part, bilingual.

29  
30



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 They were not just Inuit  
2 people, but they are European settlers whose families  
3 have been there for, in some cases, up to 300 years.  
4 They have been as badly mistreated and neglected by  
5 the Governments of Newfoundland and Labrador and  
6 Government of Canada as the people in the Northwest  
7 Territories have traditionally been. I don't say in  
8 recent times because I qualified that this morning.  
9 I personally become frustrated and angry at seeing the  
10 immense wealth of the whole of the north of our  
11 country so completely unused because as a nation,  
12 I feel, we have found it much easier to become aware of  
13 and involved in our frontier sitting in front of  
14 television sets in the south. I don't think that  
15 Canada basically has a commitment to total resource  
16 development of the greater area of this country.  
17 I therefore fully support that statement of Ruttan's,  
18 that benefits from resources should much more stay  
19 in the northern part of Canada than they have  
20 traditionally.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

22 Go ahead, Mr. Sigler.

23  
24 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SIGLER:

25 Q I think, going  
26 to your last comments, that you anticipated some  
27 of the questions I was going to ask. But I'd like  
28 to have both you and Mr. Currie comment on certain  
29 principles which I feel are implicit in the evidence  
30 that you've given, to make sure I understood it





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 correctly. First of all I think it's implicit from  
2 your evidence that before the renewable resources can  
3 be developed, that there must be an acknowledg ment  
4 of -- that the ownership of these renewable resources  
5 rests in the local people, the people of the north.  
6 I take it that is the case at Bras d'Or in the Mari-  
7 times that the benefits from the harvesting of the  
8 renewable resource is clearly going to the people,  
9 the Micmac people who have been involved in the  
10 harvesting; it's not that those revenues are being  
11 claimed by senior level of government.

12 WITNESS CURRIE: I really  
13 can't hear what your question was.

14 Q I think first of all  
15 the question, am I correct in stating that it's  
16 implicit from the papers that you've given that  
17 there must be an acknowledg ment of ownership of the  
18 resources -- acknowledging that the ownership rests in  
19 the people living in the area.

20 WITNESS SNOWDEN: If I may  
21 respond to that. That would not be misinterpreting  
22 my view, Mr. Commissioner. As I say, everywhere that  
23 I know, in the mid-north of this country, the people  
24 who live there are facing precisely that problem.  
25 You probably know more than I do about the legal  
26 confrontations which are going to occur soon between  
27 the Province of Newfoundland and the Federal Govern-  
28 ment vis-a-vis ownership of the offshore mineral rights  
29 on the coast of Labrador. It's not just Labradorians  
30 who feel very strongly about that. It's the people of



Showden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 the whole Province of Newfoundland who believe, and  
2 I think there's some legal justification for this  
3 belief, that on entering Confederation in 1949,  
4 Newfoundland did not give to the Federal Government  
5 its offshore rights, and that is probably the strongest  
6 emotional issue in the Province of Newfoundland today,  
7 and it stems from, on the part of Newfoundland, the  
8 feeling of being ignored by the decision-makers in  
9 this country. In part the blame they attach to them-  
10 selves as coincidental that in 1950 the Premier of  
11 Newfoundland told Newfoundlanders to burn their  
12 fishing boats. That in turn was coincidental with the  
13 devaluation of the pound, and most of the Newfoundland  
14 fish market at that time was in the Sterling area.

15 But the fact is, as Mr.  
16 Currie has been saying, this country has never given  
17 a damn for its offshore fishing industry and New-  
18 foundlanders are the ones who are suffering from  
19 that more than anybody else. They were far better off,  
20 they believe, before coming into Confederation. They  
21 feel they don't own the resources, and in answer to  
22 your question, I most implicitly -- I most certainly  
23 do agree, I wasn't just implicit, I believe that  
24 local people have first right to resource ownership  
25 and control, and bargaining must be done from that  
26 basis.

27 Q I take it follows from  
28 that position of ownership that you feel that the  
29 benefits from harvesting resources or spoiling  
30 them should go to the local people as well.



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1                                   A     Yes, although I realize  
2     that it's a very complex question and I've given a  
3     simplistic answer. But I simply cannot believe that  
4     always it must be the people in the north who were  
5     made to bear the cost of providing for the national  
6     good. I don't ever hear that related to the golden  
7     triangle in Canada. All I hear is that in the part of  
8     the country that I live in, we are recipients of a  
9     kind of national welfare. It's called regional  
10    disparity payments. I never hear anybody talking in  
11    the golden triangle in Ontario talking about the  
12    \$2 billion worth of manufactured goods that Newfound-  
13    landers buy from Ontario every year. This is the  
14    kind of feeling that I think is prevalent throughout  
15    the north, and it's indicative of the kind of attitude  
16    in more central and powerful parts of Canada.

17                               Q     I was just trying to  
18    resolve the points that I think underlie your evidence  
19    with the position that's been stated by Federal  
20    Government that the resources of the north belong to  
21    or should be exploited for the benefit of all the  
22    people of Canada, and I'm just interested in posing  
23    that position to the position you stated, especially  
24    to you <sup>as</sup> Maritimers, from an area of Canada who perhaps  
25    would really should benefit from the resources of  
26    the north.

27                               A     Well, we agree with you  
28    when it comes to Alberta's oil resources, but we don't  
29    agree with it in terms of anything else.

30                               Q

You can draw





Snowden, Currie  
C ross-Exam by Sigler

1 a line at the 60th.

2 A That is  
3 until we develop our own.

4 Q Now, this, of course,  
5 is a pipeline Inquiry, and I understand the task of  
6 it is to suggest terms and conditions that might be  
7 attached to the construction of a Mackenzie Valley  
8 Pipeline, and the development of the corridor/ the <sup>in</sup>  
9 Mackenzie Valley . I just wonder if either of you  
10 can translate what you've stated the general principles  
11 you've enunciated, the examples you gave, to translate  
12 those into conditions that might be attached to the  
13 development of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

14 A Mr. Commissioner, I  
15 think it would be -- I have been far too presumptuous  
16 as it is. As I said in prefacing my remarks this  
17 morning, I feel that I am here, I know that I have  
18 come here because I have views and some experience  
19 in alternate resource development. I do not have  
20 expertise in the incredibly complex issue with  
21 which you have spent so many months of your life. I  
22 can simply cite what I think are the rights of people  
23 to resource use and to the potential that I believe  
24 exists for development of those resources. I could  
25 only express a personal opinion as any other Canadian  
26 citizen could do.

27 Q I wonder why the  
28 very title of your briefs are "Alternate Development  
29 Possibilities", why you used the word "alternate"?  
30 Why didn't you use the word "additional"? What's the





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 alternative? Why does it become either/or development  
2 possibility?

3 A I'm sorry, what I  
4 really mean is additional. I used the word "alternate"  
5 perhaps incorrectly myself, but I use it always in  
6 that way. I don't see it as an either/or situation  
7 necessarily. I simply feel that in an enquiry of this  
8 kind, which is dealing with <sup>a</sup>gas pipeline, that there  
9 may be a possibility that alternate resource develop-  
10 ments may not receive a fair hearing in Court, through  
11 no Machiavellian scheming, simply because they are  
12 not in this country very many Canadians relatively  
13 who are concerned with optimum use of renewable  
14 resources.

15 Q I guess we can go back  
16 to one thing you repeated a couple of times, I take  
17 it, that not just look at developing one resource  
18 but to try to come up with a comprehensive program  
19 for resource development when looking at an area.

20 A I'm afraid  
21 I would not like to make any other comment, if  
22 that's permissible. Any views I express would  
23 be personal. I don't hesitate to make them as personal  
24 views at all, but they would simply be personal and  
25 I do not have the expertise to make them any other  
26 way.

27 Q Mr. Currie, do you  
28 regard this as an either/or situation, developing  
29 either renewable or non-renewable resources, or  
30 whether you feel that they both could be developed?



Snowden, Currie  
C ross-Exam by Sigler

1 WITNESS CURRIE: I don't  
2 want to see, why I'm here, is I don't want to see what  
3 I know is a tremendous potential in what might be  
4 regarded as barren land overlooked for something  
5 that glitters just as soon as you hit a rock, it's  
6 there. Now, what I want is this kind of an attitude.

7 The Bras d'Or Lakes in 1969  
8 weren't worth anything. There was empty water, nobody  
9 was making a living out of it. There was a mine  
10 started in 1970 and in 1970 the people had begun to  
11 realize that even though they hadn't seen this before,  
12 that under a microscope they'd seen one drop of  
13 Bras d'Or water contained thousands of swimming  
14 larvae which could become thousands of edible oysters.  
15 So suddenly in a bucket of water they saw 22 billion  
16 young oysters, just in brown tinge and they see that  
17 there's power in that and there's something invaluable  
18 to their future, and one night in quite a large group  
19 of people this gentleman from the mine said something  
20 that led us to believe there were -- the stream from  
21 the mine was coming into Bras d'Or and there was quite  
22 a bunch of trailers and so on going in there, and the  
23 stream, through certain settling ponds, was still  
24 dumping into the Bras d'Or, and a year before that  
25 nobody would have paid the slightest bit of attention  
26 to it; but by 12 o'clock that night -- and this was  
27 around 5 in the evening that the thing sort of came  
28 out -- by 12 o'clock that night the environmental  
29 people had gotten back to the Indian people and showed  
30 them that that water was not running into Bras d'Or,



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 it was running in a totally different direction and  
2 this kind of concern is what I'm trying to -- that  
3 I feel about the thing, that there are ways of course  
4 that you can do tandem development, but not one at  
5 the expense of another, and not until the true value  
6 of the apparently desert water, or desert land has  
7 been established, not just by walking over it and  
8 saying, "well, there's nothing here." But by con-  
9 centrated effort to develop and enhance what is there.





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, Mr.  
2 Snowden.

3 WITNESS SNOWDEN: I'm sorry,  
4 Mr. Commissioner. I misunderstood part--I didn't  
5 fully understand your question. I do not hesitate  
6 to answer it the way that it was related to Ralph.  
7 I was involved very much for part of my life in the  
8 terrible dislocations that occurred when Rankin  
9 Inlet Mine closed down.

10 My experience has been with  
11 that kind of thing also outside the Territories but  
12 I have seen it firsthand in the Northwest Territories.  
13 I know that after every drop of oil is gone, after  
14 every ounce of valuable mineral has gone, that people  
15 can live well in this part of the country. Looking  
16 at it from an extremely long-term point of view, I  
17 have to come down on the side if there is a side to  
18 come down on. I have to come down on the side of  
19 renewable resource use and development.

20 MR. SIGLER: So, your basic  
21 message is that renewable resources shouldn't be  
22 sacrificed in the plan to--or shouldn't even be made  
23 secondary to the plan to develop the non-renewable  
24 resources?

25 A I would argue that and  
26 not only that, I would also urge very strongly that  
27 the people in the Territories, under no circumstances,  
28 allow those resources to be taken away from them in  
29 any shape or form.

30 Q The non-renewable resources?



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 A The renewable resources.

2 MR. SIGLER: The renewable ones.

3 Those are all the questions I have sir.

4 A Incidentally, if I may  
5 add, that has been a consistent policy in the late  
6 1950's before the first commercial Arctic char fisheries  
7 were established in the Territories. We received  
8 from a co-operative and understanding Federal  
9 Department of Fisheries assurance that Arctic char  
10 fisheries in this country would be developed first  
11 of all by local people on a co-operate basis if there  
12 were co-operatives to be established.

13 Secondly, by residents of the  
14 Northwest Territories, born in the Territories on a  
15 non co-operative single entrepreneurial basis.

16 Thirdly, if there was to be  
17 any development at all and this would have to be  
18 decided by the people in the area for outside interests.  
19 So, this is not a new conviction of mine. It's  
20 something that I've had all my life. You simply  
21 do not give up those resources. There is no way that  
22 that should be allowed.

23 On the other side of the  
24 coin, I talked this morning about some of the more  
25 positive things which had happened in the Territories  
26 as a result of people like Ralph Currie and Abe  
27 Okpik who was with us and others, but if there was  
28 any single terrible mistake that we made and I suppose  
29 I am responsible for that more than anybody else.

30 In retrospect, I would never,



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 never have done what I did personally to attempt to  
2 develop the tourist industry in the Northwest  
3 Territories on the laissez-faire in which it  
4 developed.

5 I had been through that in  
6 Saskatchewan when I was tourist director there. We  
7 needed development in the north. We did not have  
8 Saskatchewan money to go into development. This was  
9 in the late '40's and early '50's and for the sake  
10 of development, we allowed external capital to come  
11 in. Throughout the whole of Canada, the tourist  
12 industry, when it is based on the fish and hunting  
13 resources of the country, leaves very, very little  
14 for the people in the area and were I to have that  
15 opportunity again, under no circumstances would the  
16 Industrial Division have allowed the development  
17 of the tourist industry on the basis on which it  
18 has developed here.

19 Q I take it you support  
20 the philosophy of the approach taken by the Micmacs  
21 that Mr. Currie gave, that the projects should be  
22 initiated by the people themselves and not initiated  
23 by government.

24 A And of the approach which  
25 has subsequently been taken in the Territories, as  
26 you know better than I do, of local decision-making,  
27 about the pace, type and indeed the reality of  
28 tourist development at all. That's another resource  
29 which must be controlled locally.

30 MR. SIGLER: Those are all of



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Bell

questions I have, sir.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Bell?

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

MR. BELL: Mr. Snowden--

perhaps I should say I'm here representing the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and the Metis Association of the Northwest Territories and they're interested in this question of alternative development and I'd like to find out if you have any thoughts on the--well, we can all appreciate that alternative development is going to require some capitalization and I was wondering if you had any thoughts on potential sources of capital financing for alternative development projects.

A I mentioned this morning, very briefly in closing, Mr. Commissioner, what I felt were opportunities for the Northwest Territories, for renewable resource development through the Western Northlands' program of DREE which has been adopted and with heavy commitment by the Provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, with lesser commitment by Alberta, with very little commitment from the Province of Ontario which is now going through a phase on non-development in the northwestern part of this province, which is almost as shocking as the coast of Labrador.

Unfortunately, for reasons which have had to do with the traditional Newfoundland policy related to Labrador, the Government of Newfoundland has not yet become involved in that





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 program but my own conviction is that it will. Had  
2 Newfoundland done so in 1974 when the provincial  
3 government was advised of that program by what was  
4 an impartial body, by now the coast of Labrador would  
5 have had forty million dollars more for development  
6 purposes than it has had. It's had virtually nothing.

7 I would think--I have had  
8 a chance to examine not just the philosophical basis  
9 for that program and the detail of the program as  
10 it has been worked out through agreements with the  
11 provinces, but I've been able to talk with people  
12 and be with people who are involved in that program  
13 in parts of the mid-north, in Saskatchewan and  
14 Alberta both, and I have no doubt at all that that  
15 program would offer some very considerable sources  
16 of financing for renewable resource development in  
17 the Northwest Territories.

18 Whether you would have the  
19 degree of control which the people you represent  
20 would like to have or not, I simply can't say. I do  
21 know that in Saskatchewan there has been a real  
22 effort. There is a real effort being made now to  
23 provide people in the north with real opportunities  
24 for participation right from the conceptualization  
25 through the evaluation stages as I mentioned earlier  
26 this morning. That would be the most immediate source  
27 of financing that I could think of.

28 Obviously, I would like to  
29 think that were there land claim settlements made,  
30 that people in this part of Canada would give very,



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 very serious attention before those funds, those  
2 substantial funds are committed totally to considering  
3 the possibilities of taking control of renewable  
4 resource development in this part of Canada and  
5 allocating a substantial portion of funds, ensuring  
6 at the same time that governments do what I believe  
7 is their absolute responsibility. I think it is  
8 virtually a crime that we, as a nation, have allowed  
9 the whole Arctic coast of this country, stretching  
10 from Labrador right through to Alaska, to have had  
11 so very, very little research done in it.

12 Now, you can cite the reports  
13 which have been done on sea mammal populations. You  
14 can cite the reports which have been done on Arctic  
15 char and I tell you that as long as we know that there  
16 is a large population of species like cod in the  
17 Davis Straits that we have done no research on;  
18 that there is a large halibut population which we  
19 have done no research on; that as a nation we have  
20 failed miserably to understand the resource base  
21 which we have available to us.

22 So, in any negotiations or  
23 any plans which your groups have in the Territories  
24 for allocation of funds, if and when land claims are  
25 settled, I would urge that you seriously consider  
26 a major proportion of these funds being related to  
27 renewable resource development, in matters which are  
28 completely compatible with the values and the life  
29 styles of people in this part of the world.

30 But I would also equally insist



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Bell  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 that it be clearly understood and carefully considered  
2 the continuing responsibilities which government  
3 have vis-a-vis renewable resource development. After  
4 all, they have not fulfilled these responsibilities  
5 very well anywhere in the country but they have  
6 not abnegated them either and that's a very incomplete  
7 answer. I'm sorry, I can say nothing more.

8 MR. BELL: Thank you. Those  
9 are all the questions I have, sir.

10 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Hollingworth?

11 WITNESS SNOWDEN: Thank you  
12 very much for identifying yourself. I don't know  
13 people here.

14 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I have  
15 no questions.

16 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves?

17 MR. STEEVES: My name is  
18 Mr. Steeves and I am counsel for Arctic Gas and I have  
19 no questions.

20 MR. SCOTT: Now that Mr.  
21 Steeves has identified himself, does he have any  
22 questions? I wasn't clear.

23 MR. STEEVES: I have no  
24 questions. They shut my mike off again.  
25 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT: Mr. Snowden,  
26 Q my name is Ian Scott. I'm not quite sure who I  
27 represent.

28 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: He  
29 represents Central Canada.

30 MR. SCOTT: Well, let's come





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 to that. You've made an effective case that  
2 equivalent, if not better and more thorough consideration  
3 should be given to the possibilities of renewable  
4 resource development, but I take it that, for example,  
5 you're not autocratic about this. If the people of  
6 Alberta, for example, were to conclude as they  
7 apparently did that development of non-renewable  
8 resources was in their interest. You would have no  
9 objection to that?

10 A That's their right of  
11 self-determination surely.

12 Q Precisely. I take it  
13 that if it should be determined by the people of the  
14 Northwest Territories that non-renewable resource  
15 development is in their best interests, you would  
16 have no objection to that?

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Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A I would not.

2 Q You would not.

3 A No.

4 Q I take it that you

5 would go a little further than that, wouldn't you,

6 in a federal system and agree that when one takes the

7 count one occasionally has to consider the interests of

8 Canadians who live outside the geographical area where

9 you are going to put your ballot box?

10 For example, you would  
11 agree with me that the people of the cold and dark parts  
12 of the country have some interest in whether Albertans  
13 develop their non-renewable resources.

14 A Are you asking me or  
15 are you telling me?

16 Q I'm asking you.

17 A All right. Yes, I would.

18 Q I would have thought  
19 as a Maritimer dependent to a certain extent on those  
20 resources or their availability for other parts of  
21 Canada, you would have no hesitation in agreeing with  
22 that. Am I right?

23 A As a Maritimer, it makes  
24 no difference because I don't burn one ounce of my \$400.00  
25 a month oil bill from Alberta. I burn it from Venezuela.

26 Q No, but you recognize  
27 also that your oil bill is paid for in large part by  
28 persons from other parts of the country? That you have  
29 highly subsidized oil and gas in the Maritimes, oil?

30 A From Venezuela.



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

Q Well, it comes from  
Venezuela but it is being purchased not only by  
Maritimers but by all Canadians for Maritimers.

A I understand that  
because as you know better than I do the hydroelectric  
power that's generated in lower Churchill Falls, I  
am subsidizing for New York State in the Province of  
Quebec. Of course, I understand things like that.

THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Scott  
suppose you win this argument, where does it get us?

MR. SCOTT: No, the point I  
simply make with Mr. Snowden and I would have thought  
that there was no difficulty about it is that in a  
federal system, in determining the desirability of  
developing one resource or another regard must be had  
for the interest of Canadians outside the particular  
geographic area. That's true of the Maritimes and of  
the west. I leave out central Canada for the moment.

A Could I counter by  
asking you a question, Mr. Scott? Do you really believe  
that the development of the iron ore mines in Labrador  
West was -- came about as a matter of the national  
concern and national policy? Do you really believe that  
the development of the oil fields in Alberta stems from  
a concern for the nation? Do you really believe that  
the development of the hydroelectric power in Churchill  
Falls which after all is a provincial resource as is the  
iron ore in Labrador was done as a matter of national  
concern or interest? I don't.

Q Well, my beliefs are



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 irrelevant. Yours as a witness are significant. I  
2 simply ask you whether you are able to recognize in  
3 this plea that you make that in determining which  
4 of our nonrenewable resources should be developed that  
5 there are interests beyond the interests of those who  
6 happen to be sitting on top of them at any given moment.  
7 If you don't agree with that proposition, you have  
8 simply to say so.

9 A No, no. I certainly  
10 do agree.

11 Q All right.

12 A Because if there were  
13 not those interests obviously no development of this  
14 kind would ever have taken place in the Canadian  
15 mid-north. Because it is not the people who live here  
16 who have ever made decisions about the pace or the  
17 type of nonrenewable resource development which is going  
18 to take place.

19 Q All right, so that those  
20 decisions you would agree have to be made on a broader  
21 canvas occasionally?

22 A I have said nothing  
23 which would indicate that I agree with that.

24 Q You don't agree with  
25 that then?

26 A I have not said whether  
27 I agree with it.

28 Q I'm sorry. Could I ask  
29 you to say what you think about it?

30 A My view related to that





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 kind of development in the Northwest Territories is  
2 that it has not occurred in other part of Canada in which  
3 I have lived. That people in that part of Canada have  
4 ever been asked if they are prepared to have nonrenewable  
5 resources developed and as a matter of national interest  
6 I simply am not aware of that happening in the past.  
7 If you are, I would be very pleased to hear about it.

8 Q No, I'm not asking  
9 for examples. There may indeed be none as you say.  
10 But you agree with me that that's the kind of considera-  
11 tion that is at stake here? The interests of all  
12 Canadians from time to time have to be considered in  
13 making determinations about the development of non-  
14 renewable resources wherever those resources may be  
15 found?

16 A I would not disagree  
17 with that. I had made that remark related to renewable  
18 resources.

19 Q All right. That's as  
20 far as I go with it. Well, now, in your paper, you  
21 also made the -- I had a note here -- you made the point  
22 very effectively that an appropriate technology could,  
23 in your judgment, be developed over a period of time and  
24 applied to the development of nonrenewable resources so  
25 that the development of those resources became appropriate  
26 to Western Arctic circumstances and lifestyle?

27 A I'm sorry, Mr. Scott,  
28 I said related to renewable resources not nonrenewable.

29 Q I'm sorry, renewable  
30 resources. That a technology could be developed so that



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 renewable resources could be discovered and developed  
2 in a way that was appropriate to Western Arctic  
3 circumstances and lifestyle ? Do I have the thrust of  
4 what you said?

5 A Yes.

6 Q All right. Is it  
7 within your capacity or your knowledge to tell us  
8 whether there are in your mind any modifications  
9 to conventional petroleum development, whatever, that  
10 can render it consistent with Western Arctic circumstances  
11 and lifestyles?

12 A I can make no comment.  
13 I have no expertise in that extremely sophisticated  
14 level of technology.

15 Q Yes. For example,  
16 you have not, I take it, any experience or any ability  
17 to comment on joint ventures or any proposals such  
18 as that for the development of nonrenewable resources  
19 and the ability of such ventures to be consistent with  
20 Western Arctic lifestyles?

21 A No, I have not.  
22 The kinds of technologies with which I am familiar  
23 in the extractive industries are so completely sophisticated,  
24 so incredibly expensive that they really are -- they are  
25 -- I cannot compare them. For example to put six  
26 transformers into the hydroelectric station at Churchill  
27 Falls, they built two trucks which were used on a 70-mile  
28 stretch of road to carry those transformers from  
29 railhead to the powersite. Those trucks are now --  
30 they serve no useful purpose, they were \$1 million



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 each. The kind of technology that I am talking about  
2 relating to renewable resources is appropriate  
3 technology which is simple to maintain, simple to  
4 operate, which increases efficiency and meets  
5 developmental requirements that cannot be met with the  
6 technology that we have now for large-scale harvesting  
7 of resources. There are all kinds of examples of the  
8 sort of technologies because there are people in this  
9 country working on them right now and have been  
10 for a long time related to the forest industry.

11 There are all kinds of  
12 appropriate technologies which are being developed now  
13 in this country related to the development of peat bog  
14 for agriculture purposes. These are not sophisticated  
15 technologies. These are what I refer to as appropriate  
16 technologies related to renewable resource development.

17 I have absolutely no  
18 confidence to talk about the incredibly sophisticated  
19 technologies that are required to build a pipeline in  
20 this country.

21 Q Well, do I understand  
22 then that really when you're -- that you see a contrast  
23 between a sophisticated technology and an appropriate  
24 technology?

25 A I do in terms of our  
26 commitment to develop one as opposed to develop another.

27 Q I don't understand that  
28 last statement.

29 A We have no single source  
30 in this country there is no institute, there is no





Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 facility in the whole of this country which is available  
2 for people who are involved in the development of  
3 appropriate technology. The kinds of technologies for  
4 example that will allow a Newfoundland fisherman to spend ten  
5 minutes a day baiting his trawls instead of four hours  
6 a day which he spends now and yet there is a man in this  
7 country who is just completing and perfecting that kind  
8 of technology. It's a simple piece of equipment to  
9 operate. It costs less than \$3,000. IT can owned by  
10 a whole fishing community and used by it and it will put  
11 fishermen on the water an extra 40% more time than they  
12 are today. That's what I mean by appropriate technology.

13 Q But there can be no  
14 appropriate technology if I understand you correctly that  
15 will provide oil for his furnace?

16 A No, I'm not -- I'm  
17 saying that's sophisticated technology. It's appropriate  
18 for the industry but it is not appropriate for the life  
19 styles and the resources that we are talking about here.  
20 The \$1 million truck that carried the six transformers to  
21 Churchill Falls has no relevancy related to other  
22 renewable resource development anywhere else in this  
23 country. Furthermore, those trucks can't even be used  
24 anywhere else.

25 Q Well, the thing that  
26 causes me some difficulty is if I can imagine a fisherman  
27 in his house in Newfoundland, you tell me that appropriate  
28 technologies and by "appropriate", I understand you mean  
29 suitable and comfortable to his personal standards  
30 and skills. Do I have that right?



A Yes, plus increasing his

Q All right, but you tell

A Yes, very much so.

Q But the fact that an

A Of course not, I didn't

Q It's simply to say that

Q And therefore engaging

ny particular period of time

A That's right, and it's



Snowden, Currie  
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 a matter of scale, of course.

2 Q Right, and if the  
3 need for electric light is a significant need for that  
4 fisherman, it matters not that the technology whereby  
5 he gets it is regarded by you is inappropriate.

6 A Not by me, by him.

7 Q All right, by him.  
8 Do you agree with that?

9 A Yes, I do.

10 MR. SCOTT: Those are all the  
11 questions I have. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Currie,  
13 you said that the principles of scientific environmental  
14 development that were brought to bear on the Bras d'Or  
15 project could be applied here in the north, and you  
16 concentrated on what you called the Yukon littoral. You  
17 mean the Arctic Coast of the Yukon. Now you told us  
18 that you had worked there back in '63 or whenever it  
19 was, and had been called away or something. Was it  
20 your experience there that potentially sought that  
21 time that led you to pick out the Yukon littoral over  
22 and above everything else along the Arctic Coast? Am  
23 I reading you correctly?

24 WITNESS CURRIE: Well, I  
25 think that we established that a very small, relatively  
26 small area of the Beaufort Sea and Herschel Island-  
27 Beaufort Sea could sustain a small community in what  
28 is called viability. I think that the principle that  
29 we should employ there -- at that time we were only  
30 thinking of harvesting, but I think that the principle





Snowden, Currie

1 of enhancement is one that should be brought to bear  
2 in any such future projects, and that stations like  
3 that could be probably found in quite wide areas of  
4 the Arctic because in my opinion nothing has been  
5 done. You're looking at an absolutely empty waste  
6 as far as that type of thing is concerned.

7                               Would you like me to put  
8 forward an idea that is, I think, maybe relevant?  
9 When you -- I can't hear very well, I don't know what's  
10 wrong, I guess I'm getting old, I had a birthday  
11 yesterday -- but when you talk about the development  
12 of one good as against another or the judgment of what  
13 is best for people, when you look at an area like the  
14 James Bay development, the hydro development there,  
15 you look at a need for electricity which carries with  
16 it the necessity to flood a big area of land which  
17 people have used to make a living, and then the  
18 decision is made that the hydro power is the more  
19 important and the settlements are made and the people  
20 withdraw from that area.     But I think that in lots  
21 of cases when you're faced with that kind of a situa-  
22 tion there are ways in which we haven't begun to  
23 apply what we know about fisheries, for example, and  
24 if you look at one of the four big areas that are  
25 going to be flooded with the best scientific biological  
26 expertise we have available, and the knowledge we have  
27 of aquaculture, it's quite within the realm of possibility  
28 that before that land is flooded you could put into  
29 operation a design for aquacultural development under  
30 which you would clean the bottom of the lake, erect





Snowden, Currie

1 dykes across the future inlets and put into position  
2 all the machinery, the central scientific station, the  
3 hatcheries required, processing houses and the whole  
4 thing, so that when that reservoir is flooded, instead  
5 of the water driving the people from their natural  
6 hunting grounds, if you want to call it, in the  
7 intervening space of time the water that is dammed  
8 just for electric power could serve to activate a  
9 fish farming program, pre-flooding engineering could  
10 put into position all the equipment necessary so  
11 that when that flooding occurred you would have  
12 automatically a reservoir to feed your turbines and  
13 the fish farm which would give the people of that  
14 area a living for a long time to come. It is not  
15 necessarily a question of one thing at the expense of  
16 another. Sometimes the two things can be done in  
17 beautiful tandem.

18 Q Let me just ask you  
19 both to comment on this, because it's something that's  
20 occurred to me as you've been speaking. You both  
21 say that we have not -- that is Canada -- has not in  
22 an organized fashion made an effort to discover the  
23 true extent of renewable resources in the Arctic and  
24 the sub-Arctic. It's certainly no consideration has  
25 been given to the concepts of resource enhancement or  
26 resource harvesting that might flow from an  
27 organized inventory of those resources. That's, I  
28 think, the thesis that in part you've put forward.

29 Well, certainly we've had  
30 people come before this Inquiry already, people from



1 the Fisheries Department have discussed what they  
2 say are very large gaps in our knowledge to the true  
3 extent of the fishery of the Mackenzie River and of the  
4 Arctic coast; but do you have any comment on the  
5 role that has been played so far by the organizations  
6 such as the Arctic Institute of North America, the  
7 Boreal Institute, the I think Saskatchewan, the  
8 University of Saskatchewan has a northern research,  
9 and so on and so forth, I think the University of  
10 British Columbia has gotten into that business.  
11 The Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development  
12 has a research lab at Inuvik, and another one that's  
13 just been opened somewhere in the central Arctic, I  
14 forget where. Now, there are a lot of people,  
15 government, universities, private, the oil companies,  
16 the consortium that want to build this gas pipeline  
17 have spent more money researching the environment of  
18 the north than the Federal Government has for the  
19 past five years, which we've heard the evidence here.

20 So I think this is all, as  
21 soon as you people leave the witness stand I think  
22 the afternoon is ended for us, so take your time if  
23 you want to feel free to comment on this.

24 If we were to buy your  
25 proposition, where do you go from here, leaving out  
26 all the larger questions of local control and so forth  
27 and so on, but what kind of an institution would you  
28 need to assemble all the work that has been done so  
29 far, because a good deal has been done. Perhaps it's  
30 fragmentary, but a certain amount has been done, and



Snowden, Currie

1 where ought it to be, and how ought it to be pursued?  
2 Am I getting through to you? Well, Mr. Snowden, maybe  
3 you can begin. You nodded an assent.

4 WITNESS SNOWDEN: I'm nodding  
5 only because I'm overwhelmed by the question you're  
6 putting to us; but I'd like to make a comment on  
7 your first statement about your interpretation  
8 of what I said, that we have not organized in this  
9 country, as a matter of priority our renewable resources  
10 research. My feeling is that in -- we have not done  
11 that related to an integrated approach to renewable  
12 resource development. We have, as you know, in the  
13 provinces for example, completed the Canada land  
14 inventory, not in all provinces but in some of them.  
15 Newfoundland is one of the provinces which has not.  
16 So we have available to us what I think would have  
17 to be regarded as a serious and reasonably well-  
18 informed basis of data on renewable resources.

19 My point is that I don't think  
20 that we have ever developed that kind of research  
21 related to an integrated program of renewable resource  
22 development, and by that I mean the kind of total  
23 resource development which allows people to  
24 participate in various types of primary production and  
25 secondary production related to a variety of resources  
26 which are in their areas. Our research has been inde-  
27 pendent of developmental considerations. What I mean  
28 by that is that we have not done our research related  
29 to a commitment to develop resources which have potential,  
30 all resources. I made the point earlier this morning







Snowden, Currie

1 and Ruttan made it in his paper, that we have always  
2 in this country regarded resource development on a single  
3 resource basis, and I'm not sure whether that's  
4 answering your question, but my feeling is that in  
5 some parts of the country there has been fairly sub-  
6 stantial renewable resource research, but that it has  
7 not been done related to an integrated approach through-  
8 out Canada to renewable resource development, and  
9 most certainly in the hinterland country.

10 My views on the kinds of  
11 research that have been done here are that some of  
12 them, some of that research is unquestionably useful  
13 and valid. Some of it, I think, is probably not. But  
14 all of it has been done for a reason, which did not  
15 have to do with an integrated developmental renewable  
16 resource program. Our resource inventories have been  
17 carried out for different reasons, and in the case  
18 of some resources in the far north I am absolutely  
19 convinced that the research has been lacking tremen-  
20 dously. How do you overcome that? You asked a ques-  
21 tion about kinds of research institutes, the kinds  
22 of facilities that you require. As an employee of  
23 a university which is concerned and interested in  
24 research related to the mid-north in Canada, I think  
25 it's marvellous that we're able to do that from a  
26 more southern location. But I say that only as a  
27 part-time employee of that institution. The research  
28 that's been done related to Labrador, for example,  
29 I think should be done there, at the institutions which  
30 are developed to provide a base for that research



Snowden, Currie

1 should be in Labrador. I would apply the same to the  
2 Territories.

3 I don't think that one  
4 research institute for the Territories is the answer.  
5 But the kinds of research that we need to, that need  
6 to be done are not just related to inventories of  
7 resources. They are research related to how those  
8 resources can best be used.

9 Q Oh yes.

10 A And you mentioned the  
11 Arctic Institute of North America, for example. When  
12 I was first involved in the Arctic, I had a fair bit  
13 of <sup>personal</sup> contact with the Arctic Institute, and I found  
14 that much of their -- virtually all their research  
15 was useless to us in terms of resource -- renewable  
16 resource development. There was a great deal of  
17 research had been done in terms of the, of many aspects  
18 of Inuit life which indirectly was very helpful. There  
19 was a tremendous amount of research had been done on  
20 the flora and fauna. That wasn't very helpful, and the  
21 kinds of research that we still need in that country,  
22 I think, are related to, in conjunction with the  
23 resource inventories are related to the ways in which  
24 those resources can be put to use. That's my own  
25 viewpoint.

26 Q Let me just add a post-  
27 script to what I said. One of the problems that  
28 has to be examined if you build a gas pipeline is  
29 the problem known as frost heave. Now it's a techni-  
30 cal problem but it is fundamental. If you can't overcome



Snowden, Currie  
C ross-Exam by Scott

1 frost heave, then you can't build a gas pipeline, not  
2 a buried gas pipeline.

3 Now, the consortium,  
4 Arctic Gas, and the other consortium, Foothills,  
5 have done an awful lot of work on this problem and  
6 they have, I suppose between them, the best pipeline  
7 engineers in the world working for them. None of  
8 these other institutions that I listed appeared even  
9 to have considered the problem, and yet the notion  
10 of building a pipeline here in the north has been mooted  
11 for over a decade and for five years or more it has  
12 been a matter that has been urged on the public by  
13 Ministers in the Federal Government. The National  
14 Research Council appeared not to have done anything  
15 significant in the field.

16 Now, why -- so that the  
17 people who have done the work, the basic research, and  
18 the only ones who appear to have done it are the  
19 people who want to build the pipeline. For that they  
20 should be commended, but as someone examining the  
21 proposals, one sometimes would wish that the govern-  
22 ment had sought earlier on to consider the very  
23 same problem, knowing that these proposals to build  
24 pipelines were being mooted so that there would be  
25 an independent audit, so to speak, of the work being  
26 done by the companies.

27 Now, why -- is there any  
28 explanation that occurs to you for some of these  
29 vital areas -- I've named one and you referred to  
30 others -- that don't seem to have been tackled?





Snowden, Currie

1 I'm not blaming anybody. Maybe it's you can't expect  
2 more than we've had, but you've got all these people  
3 all over the country with an interest in northern  
4 affairs, new institutions spring up at the  
5 universities, every year, Quebec and Alberta had a  
6 tug-of-war about the Arctic Institute, whether they  
7 were going to move it from Montreal to Calgary, and  
8 yet they haven't gotten themselves involved in some  
9 of these basic questions.

10 A You give me an  
11 opportunity to correct an impression which Mr.  
12 Scott may have had. In commenting on the lack of  
13 renewable resource research in making statements about  
14 appropriate technology, I am in no way denigrating  
15 the contribution that has been made by industry in  
16 the north. Without that contribution, as you very  
17 properly point out, research simply wouldn't be done.  
18 My point in those connections is that industry has  
19 the resources and the commitment and the requirement  
20 to do those kinds of research, and they get them  
21 done. I agree also with what I think is the  
22 implication in your statement about the passive and  
23 indeed negative role of the Federal Government  
24 primarily in this field, that it has accepted -- it  
25 has not recognized a priority, and so it has not been  
26 in a position to provide the kind of countervailing  
27 evidence, if indeed there is any, to organizations  
28 whose research by definition, whether with accuracy  
29 or not, is going to be suspect.

30 Q Not necessarily suspect.





Snowden, Currie

1 A I'm not saying it is.  
2 not  
3 I'm saying that it is, I say, not by definition; but  
4 it will be regarded in many places as being<sup>suspect</sup>. I'm not  
5 saying that's my own view at all.

6 But we simply have not had a --

7 Q Excuse me, let me put  
8 it this way. There's paramount public interest in  
9 these issues, and it may well be that in the public  
10 interest it would have been better had there been an  
11 examination by the government of some of these  
12 questions quite independently of the work that  
13 was being done by industry or at the very least,  
14 in collaboration with industry but standing aside so  
15 as to enable government agencies to form an independent  
16 judgment of their own, that's all.

17 A M-hm.

18 Q I don't think anyone  
19 would say the evidence advanced by the industry on the  
20 frost heave issue was suspect because they were  
21 really outstanding Canadians in their field,  
22 -- but they acknowledged that they were on new  
23 ground and acknowledged the problems.



1                   A     I think it's almost  
2     tragic that the oil industry should be expected to  
3     provide the inventory data which we have on renewable  
4     resources in this country. Why should the oil  
5     industry have to pay for that? Why should we not  
6     have that inventory as a matter of national concern  
7     and national priority?

8                   When you ask about the  
9     involvement of universities in northern research,  
10    I think the universities of this country are as  
11    extractive of the resources of the north as any  
12    industrial organization. Most of the research done  
13    by universities has been southern based because  
14    we don't have the facilities here.

15                  They are highly competitive  
16    with one another, as you know, in terms of attempting  
17    to get research grants. They have not, I think in  
18    the main, been able to anticipate the kinds of  
19    research requirements which are going to become  
20    evident in the mid-north and far north of this  
21    country. They may not have had access even if they  
22    did have that kind of forward view. They may not have  
23    had access to the kinds of research money that are  
24    required.

25                  I know in the case of my  
26    own university, they are involving themselves and have  
27    been for several years with the oil companies in terms  
28    of the technological problems related to natural  
29    gas and oil development off the Labrador coast which is  
30    quite different to anything else on the mainland of



Snowden, Currie

1 Canada because there we have immense problems with  
2 Arctic ice and while a drilling rig may function  
3 efficiently in the North Sea, there is absolutely  
4 no guarantee that that same piece of technology will  
5 function adequately on the coast of Labrador where  
6 the problems of the sea are totally different. But  
7 universities have not had the resources to carry out  
8 that kind of major research.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

10 A I'm sorry. I don't  
11 know whether I answered any of your questions.

12 Q No, no. I think I've  
13 kept us all here too long this afternoon anyway.  
14 Did you have anything you wanted to add, Mr. Currie,  
15 before we adjourn? Did you have any re-examination,  
16 Mr. Bayly?

17 MR. BAYLY: No re-examination,  
18 sir, no.

19 MR. SCOTT: Perhaps, Mr.  
20 Commissioner, I could outline the timetable for the  
21 week of October the 4th.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: How  
23 about the timetable for tomorrow?

24 MR. SCOTT: Well, the timetable  
25 for tomorrow is Messrs. Raddi and Bruce in the  
26 morning and Mr. Falk who is being examined by Mr.  
27 Bell.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I  
29 would hope that we could finish by 1:00 tomorrow,  
30 so that if we began at 9:00 and went through until one





1 o'clock, would that be sufficient time, do you think,  
2 Mr. Bayly and Mr. Bell?

3 MR. BAYLY: Of the evidence  
4 that I'll be leading myself sir, yes. I don't know  
5 about Mr. Falk's evidence, although I can say that  
6 we don't have any questions for him. That's a  
7 nice surprise.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: You don't  
9 have any questions?

10 MR. BAYLY: No.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Somebody  
12 write that down. What do you think, Mr. Bell?

13 MR. BELL: Well due to the  
14 fact that I'm calling a witness, I won't be cross-  
15 examining. I don't what the others have in mind for  
16 Mr. Falk but I imagine that we can probably be  
17 finished by one o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

18 MR. SCOTT: Perhaps I should  
19 just for the record say what the timetable will be  
20 so there will be no doubt as we move toward the  
21 week of October the 4th. On Monday, October the 4th,  
22 we will hear evidence led by COPE and the I. T. C.  
23 as to the land claim question and probably, though  
24 it isn't completed yet, evidence led by Commission  
25 Counsel as to native languages. On Tuesday, October  
26 the 5th, we will hear evidence from Mr. Templeton on  
27 implementation matters.

28 On Wednesday, October the 6th,  
29 we will hear evidence from the Beaufort Delta people  
30 with respect to an oil line and also evidence led--and



1 that evidence is led by Commission Counsel and also  
2 on the same day Arctic Gas will produce Mr. Hemstock  
3 for cross-examination with respect to the contingency  
4 plan which evidence has already been filed.

5 On Thursday, October the 7th,  
6 Mr. Veale will be returning with Mr. Notti for  
7 examination and cross-examination and Mr. Hollingworth  
8 will lead evidence in the afternoon with respect to  
9 the amended plan for the fifty mile construction belt.  
10 On Friday, October the 8th, we have set aside the  
11 day for evidence that may be led with respect to  
12 problems relating to northern construction in which  
13 it is hopeful that Arctic Gas and Foothills will  
14 participate and that will be the week of October the  
15 4th.

16 THE COMMISSIONEER: Very  
17 well, that sounds like an interesting week. Well,  
18 thank you very much, Mr. Snowden and Mr. Currie and  
19 we appreciate your coming all this way to give us  
20 your views on these questions and the proposals  
21 related to alternate development I have regarded as  
22 part of the land claims proposals of the native  
23 peoples organizations and have been willing to  
24 consider them under that rubric and let me  
25 say that we appreciate your coming and it has been  
26 most helpful to us and we are grateful to you both.

27 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

28 THE COMMISSIONER: We'll  
29 adjourn then and could we start promptly at 9:00 A.M.  
30 and then we'll be able to finish by 1:00. Okay.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED UNTIL SEPTEMBER 17, 1976)

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SIXTHOP  
Mackenzie Valley pipe line inquiry:  
SEPT 16  
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IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF  
(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A  
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS  
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND  
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES; and  
(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY  
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS  
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND  
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,  
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE  
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

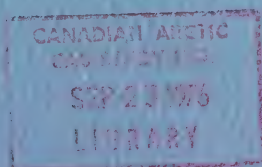
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PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

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1 APPEARANCES:

2 Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,  
3 Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,  
4 Mr. Alick Ryder, and  
5 Mr. Ian Roland, for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline  
6 Inquiry;

7 Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,  
8 Mr. Jack Marshall,  
9 Mr. Darryl Carter, and  
10 Mr. J.T. Steeves, for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipe-  
11 line Limited;

12 Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,  
13 Mr. Alan Hollingworth, and  
14 Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

15 Mr. Russell Anthony,  
16 Prof. Alastair Lucas and  
17 Mr. Garth Evans, for Canadian Arctic Resources  
18 Committee;

19 Mr. Glen W. Bell and  
20 Mr. Gerry Sutton, for Northwest Territories  
21 Indian Brotherhood, and  
22 Metis Association of the  
23 Northwest Territories;

24 Mr. John Bayly and  
25 Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,  
26 and The Committee for  
27 Original Peoples Entitle-  
28 ment;

29 Mr. Ron Veale and  
30 Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon  
Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection  
Board;

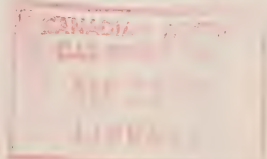
Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C.  
for Northwest Territories  
Chamber of Commerce;

Mr. Murray Sigler and for The Association of Munici-  
Mr. David Reesor, palities;

Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial,  
Shell & Gulf);

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association  
of the Northwest Territor-  
ies.

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- Cross-Examination by Mr. Hollingworth 29064

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Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

September 17, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. ROLAND: Mr. Commissioner,  
we're ready to proceed this morning. Mr. Bayly?

MR. BAYLY: The panel  
before you consists of Mr. Raddi and Mr. Don Bruce.  
I propose that we go through Mr. Raddi's evidence  
first, which consists of some questions I will put  
to him, and answers he will give, and then Mr. Bruce's,  
and I would propose as well to qualify Mr. Bruce at  
the end of Mr. Raddi's evidence.

THE COMMISSIONER: All right.

SAM RADDI, resumed:

DONALD BRUCE, sworn:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

Q Sam, could you tell the  
Commission what your present position is in COPE  
and something about your past experience on the land,  
and in wage employment?

WITNESS RADDI: Yes sir.  
I am the president of the Committee for Original  
Peoples' Entitlement now, and I used to trap and hunt  
before I start working for COPE. I used to live in  
Sachs Harbour, that's where my home is, and I lived  
around Tuk for several years. I am now living at  
Inuvik. I moved to Inuvik in 1959 and I make it my  
home there.

Q Now, you've also been





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 involved in wage employment in your past history.  
2 Can you tell us something about that? Apart from  
3 your work with COPE I understand you worked on the  
4 DEW Line.

5 A Yes. I was working  
6 for the DEW Line when the DEW Line first started in  
7 1955. I worked there for three years on the DEW Line,  
8 and just prior to 1955 there was nothing going around  
9 for jobs, and everyone that I know were trapping and  
10 hunting all the time. When the DEW Line first came  
11 in '55 in April, it was very exciting. It was a new  
12 thing and most of the men, the Eskimos wanted to  
13 work, and the wages at the time were \$1.55 an hour,  
14 and that was a very big wage compared to what we used  
15 to get from the Hudson's Bay Company in the summer.  
16 The DEW Line started and it was very, very exciting.  
17 It was fun, so most of the men that were trapping  
18 like myself, we just drop off trapping and start  
19 working for wages. When we got the money, our pay  
20 cheques, we didn't really know what to do with the  
21 cheques. We wanted cash, but it was fun. There was  
22 a lot of poker games going on and then these cheques  
23 turned to cash and we were able to have more excitement  
24 from this money that we were making on the DEW Line.  
25 More poker games, and there was a lot of people  
26 started making home brews and about that time a year  
27 later the DEW Line also started bringing in beer and  
28 hard liquor, which we don't know of before. We heard  
29 of this kind of liquor, but we haven't seen them until  
30 the DEW Line start coming. That also was exciting.



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 About that time Aklavik also  
2 had a government Liquor Store and the non-natives were  
3 able to buy liquor from Aklavik Liquor Store, and then  
4 the Eskimos later in about 1957 started buying -- were  
5 able to buy liquor also. So with more money there  
6 was more drinking involved already by 1958.

7 Q Now, this drinking that  
8 you refer to, did it bring with it any problems in  
9 the early years to the people?

10 A Well, at the time it  
11 was new and exciting, so it was just beginning, it was  
12 a new thing and people were having a lot of fun with  
13 it, although we used to drink to excess but there was  
14 no big fights at all and people owned their own homes  
15 and they had no bills to pay, so the money that we  
16 were getting, they used them to buy whatever they  
17 really need; but liquor at that time was not a problem  
18 yet because it was not that available. Not that much.



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

Q And Sam, at that time,  
you were drinking but that you'd stopped drinking  
in the early 1960's?

A Yes. I started  
drinking the home brew at home when the DEW line  
started and with more people in the DEW line and  
there was more travelling and there was more people  
coming into settlements and I make more friends, so  
home brew making became more the thing and I was  
also drinking quite a bit about 1958.

I moved to Inuvik in '59 and  
when I got there I realized, the beer parlour opened  
in the Mackenzie Hotel. I think it was 1960, and  
I started drinking quite heavy because there was  
beer available. I wasn't making much money at the  
time because I was already blind, so I was getting  
a lot of free drinks from my friends and that's when  
the problems started; when the liquor store was open  
at Inuvik and there was the beer parlour open every  
day in the Mackenzie Hotel there.

O Now, Sam, we've had  
some witnesses come before the Commission and they  
have expressed the opinion that pipeline construction  
and accompanying economic development could help to  
solve the native alcohol problem and they say they  
believe that increased job opportunities and higher  
wages plus opportunities for steady year round  
employment would eliminate some of the reasons for  
heavy drinking and other alcohol related problems.

Has this been your experience



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 to date in the Northwest Territories, particularly  
2 in the delta?

3 A No, that's not right.  
4 With more jobs and more people coming in, there's  
5 a lot more drinking and there's a lot more frustration.  
6 Past experience, a lot of money available, people that  
7 are working make it more easy to get liquor. So, if  
8 the pipeline starts, I know, my past experience, that  
9 it will bring more problems, not only with booze but  
10 with everything else because as people make more  
11 money, they like to get together and have big parties  
12 and it seems nowadays that everytime there's a party  
13 going on there's always a fight involved and neglecting  
14 children and the homes aren't being maintained  
15 properly.

16 So, really jobs nowadays with  
17 a lot of money, with big pay, will not help people  
18 to eliminate booze.

19 Q Now, Sam, COPE represents  
20 people in a number of communities and if we can just  
21 look at those communities; in Holman, Paulatuk  
22 and Sachs Harbour, I understand, not very many people  
23 work in wage employment and that more people in  
24 Aklavik, Tuk and Inuvik work in wage employment.

25 Can you describe whether there  
26 are more alcohol problems in the communities with wage  
27 employment than in the others that you represent?

28 A Yes, it's very obvious,  
29 John. I travel a lot to the settlements I am working  
30 with like Sachs Harbour, Holman, Paulatuk, Tuk,





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 Aklavik and Inuvik and it's all different in these  
2 settlements; where there is no wage employment like  
3 Paulatuk -- it's a nice place, comfortable and  
4 people they don't make booze a priority even at Holman  
5 and so is Sachs Harbour. They like the way they live,  
6 they're happy with their life, they are happy with  
7 the land they are living in. So, booze is not a  
8 priority. They do receive liquor every once in  
9 awhile but it's not a priority. It's not a problem  
10 at all.

11 Where you go to Tuk, Aklavik,  
12 Inuvik, where there's access to liquor daily,  
13 scheduled flights and more money, people are employed,  
14 a lot of them are employed full time right in the  
15 settlement itself like Tuk is a hamlet  
16 so there's a lot of people working there and there's  
17 a lot of people in Tuk that are working for oil  
18 companies. So, there's a lot more cash coming in.  
19 So is Aklavik and Inuvik and they have a lot of money  
20 to buy booze, so there's a lot of difference in the  
21 six settlements. Where there's a lot of money making,  
22 there's lots of problems with booze.

23 Q Now Sam, since the  
24 pipeline has been under construction in Alaska, I  
25 understand you've made visits to Alaska, have you  
26 observed alcohol problems in Alaska that may be  
27 different from problems that existed before the  
28 pipeline was constructed, construction began?  
29  
30



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1                   A     I been to Alaska before  
2 the pipeline was ever been thought of in early '60s,  
3 and I been to Alaska several times after the land  
4 settlement was made, and a few times again after the  
5 pipeline had started. I've felt -- I haven't seen but  
6 I've felt a lot of changes, John.

7                   Early '60s I've been to  
8 Fairbanks, down to Anchorage, and I seen people  
9 drinking but they were unlike nowadays. What I hear  
10 from the friends I have over there, those days liquor  
11 was not a priority either; but now I went back to  
12 Alaska last few years, I have seen people using drugs  
13 as much as they use alcohol, and it's even scaring  
14 to walk down a street like in Anchorage and Fairbanks.  
15 I am very conscious about that because I have experien-  
16 ced bocze in Inuvik myself and in Alaska I have seen  
17 a lot of drinking and even down-street, right downtown.

18                  Q     Now, if we can turn  
19 to the subject of young people now, Sam. In your  
20 opinion is alcohol a problem now among young native  
21 people, particularly in the delta?

22                  A     Well, alcohol is a problem  
23 either to young and old, so it also hit the younger  
24 people. If they make the money, they buy the booze  
25 from bootleggers. So it's a problem to young and old.

26                  Q     In your opinion, will  
27 more jobs and training programs that can be expected  
28 with the pipeline construction and operation help young  
29 people in coming to terms with and dealing with alcohol  
30 problems?



Raddi, Bruce  
in Chief

A If the young people that have Grade 12 graduates or Grade 10, if they are interested in training or taking a course, and they have a goal to go to, to work into, they then may eliminate drinking because of their interest. There is courses available, the course that they want; but nowadays they don't have much choice. There's only courses on mechanics, welding, there is nursing and typing, heavy duty operators course, not much of a variety. So there's a lot of them that would like to take courses but what courses are available, we really don't know.

So if you send a young person to take a course and it isn't the kind that he wanted, just because it's available, then he may still cause a problem with booze.

Q Now, we have been focusing on alcohol as a problem with native people. In your opinion is the alcohol problem one in the Northwest Territories, and particularly the delta, that is confined to native people?

A No. This alcohol might become a problem, it becomes international problem, it's not only to the native people. I find that alcoholism got no respect for anybody, doesn't matter the age of a person or the culture of a person, it doesn't matter if you're a white person, a Metis, Indian, Eskimo or German, whatever. If alcohol is involved, and it becomes a problem, it's just got no respect.

Q What programs and





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 facilities exist now in the COPE region to help people  
2 deal with alcohol either individually or in their  
3 families or in the community?

4 A There's no such alcohol  
5 programs in the region I'm working. There's none right  
6 now.

7 Q Now, I understand that  
8 both Tuk and Inuvik can expect to experience a good deal  
9 of change with increased population and the activities  
10 that would be associated with building a pipeline and  
11 gas plants, and with more offshore exploration. In your  
12 opinion, is alcohol a major problem for the people who  
13 are living in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk right now?

14 A Yes. Like I said  
15 before, John, more jobs, more money, will bring more  
16 booze, more problems. But what COPE is trying to do  
17 we tried to -- we're trying to build a big friendship  
18 centre and once it's finished, if it ever be finished,  
19 we would like to have a place there for an Alcohol  
20 Information Centre, alcoholism counselling, and we  
21 would like to have this Community Hall finished and  
22 right now we're having problems finding money to finish  
23 it. In the past ten years, we had a place called  
24 Ingamo Hall. Right now we're not using it because it's  
25 getting very old, it's an old Hudson Bay warehouse  
26 that the natives had bought at one time and had tried  
27 to fix it and put it together, and we used to have  
28 people working there on a voluntary basis. They come  
29 up there every year, and we used to have people there  
30 working evenings, and taking anyone, any young people



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 who wanted to go to a place where they can spend an  
2 evening or during the day where there is no booze  
3 involved, and it was very successful. We used to  
4 have oldtime dancing and there was a concession  
5 there where they sell cigarettes and candies and  
6 coffee and pops, and no alcohol beverages sold in  
7 there. It was running very good at the time. There  
8 was people that were concerned. They used to volunteer  
9 and give their time to the place, going in the evenings  
10 and every day until it got so old that we couldn't  
11 use it, and it got too small. This is why we're trying  
12 to build this kind of centre we call Ingamo Hall made  
13 out of logs.

14 Q Now, apart from trying  
15 to put up this building which is partly finished  
16 now, the new Ingamo Hall, can you tell me what have  
17 been the things that COPE and other groups in the  
18 communities, what have they been trying to do to  
19 meet with the needs for alcohol programs, and what  
20 problems have they had?  
21  
22  
23  
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30



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

Q Well, the only thing that COPE has tried to do is to make--COPE has always been concerned about the welfare of people; that they get the proper treatment or anything we're dealing with and one of them is--we are aware of alcoholism in Inuvik and in the area. We know there's a need for a program but really right now we are more concerned about finishing our friendship center so we can start our programs.

So, it would be okay to set up a program right now, I guess we could set up one if we wanted to but with no facilities, no housing, a program will not work. So, although COPE knows that there is a problem and there is a need for an alcohol<sup>treatment</sup> center, it's just impossible to find money to build<sup>a</sup> treatment center where you can take in people with an alcohol problem and the best that COPE can do right now is try to get that log house finished and we need--we are still trying to get money from the Federal Government to finish it and we still don't get the money yet. I hope we can get the money so we can finish it and be able to set up some programs in there.

Q Now, in your opinion Sam, would special programs have to be developed to deal with alcohol problems for different cultural groups? Should different approaches be taken for Eskimos as opposed to white people or Indians?

A Well, like I said before, alcoholism got no respect for anybody, for



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 any culture. But I still think and I'm going to do  
2 it later on if we set up a program. We have got  
3 to find ways. There may be some differences in culture,  
4 how to go about helping people to solve their drinking  
5 problem, although basically the problem is the same.  
6 Alcohol treats the people the same. But to try and  
7 help people to recover from alcoholism--I'm  
8 questioning and I'm going to work on it later when  
9 we are ready to start.

10 There's got to be more  
11 research done. Do we have to treat a white person  
12 differently from an Eskimo to help them to solve  
13 their drinking problem? Now, there may be a different  
14 way of trying to help them to recover from alcoholism  
15 because of difference of culture. For example,  
16 everytime we get a program from the south, a southern  
17 program, it's good to have something that's already  
18 in existence. For example, education. Why is  
19 the education system not working for the Inuit? So,  
20 we are looking into maybe some changes that may help  
21 the Inuit to upgrade their education, to pass their  
22 education.

23 We are looking into the ways  
24 and means of how to go about working the education  
25 system better. So, alcoholism would be the same thing.  
26 It's good to get southern programs that are already  
27 in existence but there's always room for research.  
28 We will do more research on that. Maybe, just maybe,  
29 there may be a different way of helping the Inuit and  
30 the Indians and the Metis and the whites, maybe in a





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 different way of setting up programs.

2 Q Right. Can we have a  
3 look now at the kinds of things that are done at  
4 present. When native people seek alcohol treatment  
5 and rehabilitation, where does the Department of  
6 Social Development or the Health and Welfare Department  
7 usually send them for that treatment?

8 A Well, the only place  
9 that I know of where they're going to send them to is  
10 Henwood House in Edmonton. There's been a few that  
11 went out, that has been sent, that I know of and  
12 most of them don't--when they get back home they go  
13 back drinking.

14 Q So, they are sent out  
15 to Henwood in Edmonton and they go out for a period  
16 of treatment. How long is that usually? Do you  
17 know?

18 A It's a twenty-eight  
19 day treatment and counselling in Henwood House and  
20 they're sent back to their home. There's no follow-  
21 up programs at all but they've been referred to, look  
22 for an AA group. I don't have too many AA groups in  
23 the western Arctic either.

24 Q So, except for AA groups,  
25 there's no follow-up program after they come back to  
26 their own homes or their own communities?

27 A That's right. There's  
28 nothing, John.

29 Q You have an AA group  
30 in Inuvik. Is there another one in the delta or is that



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 the only one?

2 A There's one AA group in  
3 Inuvik which has been going on since 1962 and there's  
4 an AA group started in Fort McPherson for about two  
5 or three years now and I think they are starting one  
6 in Tuk. I'm not too sure about that one but I know  
7 there was an AA member in Tuk and he was talking about  
8 starting a group. I haven't seen him now for about  
9 two months, so I don't know how he's making out.

10 Q Would you recommend  
11 that treatment facilities for people with alcohol  
12 problems in the delta be carried out closer to their  
13 own homes than Edmonton?

14 A Yes, I can use other  
15 things. For example, alcoholism is no different than  
16 anything else. For example, they should have a  
17 treatment center in a major town, like of Inuvik for  
18 that region, where people can be sent for treatment,  
19 not only a detox center, or a rehab center but a  
20 treatment center like the Henwood House type thing.

21 From there, people can work  
22 their way about making better programs right in the  
23 treatment centers.

24 Q Should there be some  
25 kind of follow-up too in each community? Would you  
26 recommend that?



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 A I don't know, I think  
2 we really shouldn't go too fast. I think we should  
3 start in one settlement and then from there branch  
4 out to smaller communities. You know, we've got to  
5 have one center where we can start treating people  
6 with alcohol problems.

7 Q Can you tell me about  
8 liquor outlets in the delta? What liquor outlets  
9 are there?

10 A There is one liquor  
11 outlet that's called the Government Liquor Store at  
12 Inuvik, and then there is also three hotels with bars  
13 and lounges.

14 Q And are there other  
15 liquor outlets in the delta communities?

16 A Not that I know of, no,  
17 it's just at Inuvik.

18 Q And what are the sales  
19 policies? Is there any limit on the amount of liquor  
20 that a person can buy from the Liquor Store?

21 A No, there's no limit  
22 to sales of liquor in the Liquor Store. You can  
23 buy all you want and it makes it very easy for  
24 bootleggers to buy it by the case and bootleg them  
25 to other settlements. It's good business for boot-  
26 leggers during the winter when there is road access  
27 to get to the settlements, they go by cabs and if there's  
28 a road built in the winter they go by road or they  
29 transport a lot of their booze and bootleg to some  
30 of the settlements.





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1                   So it's very hard for the  
2 R.C.M.P. to catch these bootleggers unless -- well,  
3 they can't do very much unless they see the guy  
4 selling a bottle to somebody else.

5                   Q     Now, some people have  
6 come before this Commission, Sam, and they've made  
7 some suggestions and proposals, and let me tell you  
8 what these are and ask you to comment on them.

9                   The first one is that all  
10 liquor sales should be eliminated in the Northwest  
11 Territories. Can you comment on that one?

12                  A     Is that a question, John?

13                  Q     Yes. If that were a  
14 suggestion that that would be a solution to the alcohol  
15 problem, would you agree that all liquor sales and  
16 imports should be cut off in the Northwest Territories?

17                  A     No, that's a type of  
18 prohibition. In other words, John, it's too late to  
19 take liquor away now from the Territories, but we  
20 got to try and find ways and means to cut down the  
21 sales but not to take away liquor altogether. It  
22 will just not work. We cannot afford to force people  
23 away from something or to do something.

24                  Q     Now, another suggestion  
25 is that there should be a quota system under which  
26 each adult person would be allowed to buy a certain  
27 amount of liquor each week or each month. I under-  
28 stand that has been used in some communities in the  
29 Northwest Territories before.

30                  A     Yes, I think that would



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 be a better system of this type, to have a quota  
2 system. What I'm thinking about when I say that is  
3 bootleggers, they would have less access to buying  
4 liquor that they can bootleg because if we don't  
5 take away liquor, you know it will be available at  
6 least once a week if there's a quota system, that  
7 should be talked about before you make a decision  
8 how many bottles of liquor they should sell or beer  
9 they should sell; but there should be a quota system  
10 set on that.

11 Q Some people have  
12 suggested that the price of liquor should be in-  
13 creased, reasoning that if you raise the price  
14 people will not buy as much. Is that something that  
15 you agree with?

16 A No, I don't think it's  
17 right. It doesn't matter how high you put the price  
18 of liquor, you're going to buy it anyway; if you like  
19 to drink booze you'll do anything in the world to  
20 buy it even if you had to steal it. I don't think  
21 it's fair to the people at all to put the price of  
22 booze up. I think we should be fair with the people  
23 how we treat them. If we're going to sell liquor,  
24 sell it at a reasonable price and don't make it so  
25 high that people start stealing just to get a bottle.  
26 I think the government should be reasonable and keep  
27 the price the same price, even maybe a little cheaper  
28 than they got right now.

29 Q Now, in the construction  
30 camps there have been suggestions made about alcohol.



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 Some of them have been made by the companies; some  
2 of them have been made by the unions. One of these  
3 is that alcohol should be made available in the camps  
4 on a controlled basis through having a bar in the  
5 camp. Is that something that you could comment on?

6 A Well, I have never  
7 experienced living in a camp before. I've never worked  
8 for a company where I had to stay in a camp for two  
9 weeks or three weeks at a time. But I think it would  
10 be dangerous to have liquor in the camp and again it  
11 may be dangerous, too, to have no liquor in the camp.  
12 Maybe if they have a bar right in the camp, only if  
13 the camp is big, but not to take liquor out, just sit in the  
14 bar and if they wanted to take it. But I don't  
15 think it's fair to some of them, to some of the  
16 people that like to drink once in a while, you know,  
17 to take away booze altogether.

18 Q All right. Do you think  
19 that would help to solve the bootlegging problem a bit  
20 if you had a bar in the camps?

21 A It may cut down the  
22 bootlegging, yes.

23 Q Now that's the end of  
24 the list of questions, Sam. If I've left anything out  
25 or cut you off in any question, feel free to say  
26 and add anything you want at this point.

27 A I can't think of any  
28 other question that you might have asked that you  
29 didn't, John. I don't know, maybe some others want  
30 to ask questions.



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In Chief

Q All right, let's go to Don Bruce's evidence and then the other lawyers may want to ask you both some questions.

Mr. Bruce, we didn't attach a curriculum vitae to your evidence. If I can just take you through your education and work experience, I understand that you were brought up and educated in Montreal.

WITNESS BRUCE: That's correct.

Q And that you have taken courses at Sir George Williams and McGill Universities in that city.

A That's correct.

Q And that you have taken courses as well at the University of Ottawa and at Carleton University.

A That is correct.

Q That you were a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force from 1956 to 1966.

A Yes.

Q And that following that, you worked for the Government of Alberta as a social worker from 1966 until 1968.

A Yes.

Q And that you were also between 1968 and 1970 attached to the Alberta Alcohol & Drug Commission.

A That's right.

Q And that from 1970 to 1972





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 again in Alberta you were the director of the Drug  
2 Crisis Centre.

3 A Yes, that's correct.

4 Q And that you were a  
5 research consultant in Alberta to the Liquor Legislation  
6 Committee.

7 A Yes.

8 Q Between 1972 and 1973.

9 A Yes, that's correct.

10 Q And that from 1974 to  
11 the present you have been chief of the Alcohol & Drug  
12 programs for the Government of the Northwest Territories.

13 A Yes, that's correct.

14 Q Could you turn to the  
15 first page of your submission and read the substance  
16 of that submission into the record of the Inquiry?

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Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

A I've come here today hopefully to have an intelligent discussion but primarily to say that I do not wish to be an expert for, in my view, there really are none.

I bring to this Inquiry nothing absolute, no magic, but simply some experience gathered in many places. More particularly, that which I've learned from the people who live here and whose lives are affected by every nuance of change whether environmental or social.

First I'd like to point out that the essential evidence as to what constitutes alcoholism, how one becomes one; the medical, pharmacological or the psychological aspects are best described in the final report of the Commission of Inquiry into the non-medical use of drugs. Therefore, I wish not to re-address these issues. Specific attention is paid to these matters beginning on page 386 of the copy I've provided while other related topics which may be of special interest, may be found throughout this authoritative text.

Further, to place the nature and extent of the problems associated with alcohol misuse within the Canadian perspective, I would direct your attention to the second document, Alcohol Problems in Canada, a summary of current knowledge. This document--

Q If I could just interrupt at this point, these have been supplied to the Commission and I've requested those be marked as



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In Chief

exhibits for your information.

A This document compiled on behalf of a co-operative Federal-Provincial working group may be helpful in connecting<sup>some</sup>, if not all, of the varied evidence with respect to alcohol and its effects throughout the social fabric of our society.

To my knowledge, this subject is by far one of the most difficult to grasp, being further confused by a constant shifting from subjective to objective data, and wrapped in the moment of emotion.

The per capita consumption of a given area serves as an indicator and is a singular view from which we may begin to examine a pattern of behavior. I have included the following graph with caution, as the current 1976 census evidence is not available and that's the census that was taken this current fiscal year that I'm referring to there. The second caution is that generally speaking, the collection of data and its interpretation is rife with problems in itself. I am, therefore, presenting the data to help outline the state of the art, so to speak, and to serve as a point from which we may have an intelligent discussion.

Per capita consumption measurements are utilized as a barometer of trends and as a reasonable measure from which social policy may be evaluated. An example could be an examination of pricing levels of alcohol and their effects on





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In Chief

1 consumption patterns. As mentioned, this method is  
2 a generalized approach and not without its problems.  
3 But it does, in fact, reflect an idea of the amount  
4 of alcohol consumed throughout the population base  
5 fifteen years of age and over.

6 The trend indicated within  
7 the graph of rising consumption from 1968 to '73 is,  
8 of course, corroborated by sales of alcohol products  
9 both by value and volume.

10 While many criticisms are  
11 evident in utilizing this manner in describing  
12 consumption of alcohol products, it nevertheless is  
13 a reasonably accurate way in which to begin.

14 If I may extrapolate a  
15 moment here and direct your attention to the first  
16 graph. You will note that a tremendous rise in  
17 per capita consumption in all products from virtually  
18 1968 to 1973 is virtually corroborated by the degree  
19 of the problems that are associated with this level  
20 of consumption of alcohol. In short, the number of  
21 policing problems or enforcing problems, the number of  
22 people that are involved in anti-social behavior,  
23 can pretty well be predicted by having a look at a  
24 graph of this sort and realizing that the consumption  
25 level is such a high degree that there has to be  
26 problems of a major nature in any given community  
27 in which consumption levels of this type take place.

28 Specifically for the fiscal  
29 period ending March, '76, 877,000 gallons of alcohol  
30 were sold at a value of nearly eleven million dollars.



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 This represents a measure of 86,810 gallons of absolute  
2 alcohol or pure alcohol divided by the population  
3 fifteen years and over or roughly 3.40 gallons of  
4 absolute alcohol per person, fifteen years of age and  
5 over. Specific proportions are as follows:

6 99,000 gallons of spirits or 44,550 gallons of  
7 absolute alcohol.

8 48,000 gallons of wine or 5,760 gallons of  
9 absolute alcohol.

10 730,000 gallons of beer or 36,500 gallons of  
11 absolute alcohol.

12 While these calculations  
13 are somewhat speculative, I do not expect appreciative  
14 change when the results of Census '76 are finally  
15 reported.

16 The per capita consumption  
17 data indicate that the N. W. T. is second highest in  
18 Canada to the Yukon. In relation to Canada, it is  
19 approximately one gallon of absolute alcohol over the  
20 national rate or average.

21 The trend toward increased  
22 per capita consumption as evidenced in '68 to '73 is  
23 apparently abated. In fact, there appears to be  
24 a significant decrease begun in '74 and is continuing.

25 Speculation as to the reasons  
26 for the decrease are inconclusive. However, I might  
27 attribute this to several events and/or changes which  
28 began during the decreasing period.

29 The first is the changing  
30 perspective of original northern peoples. This attitude



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In Chief

1 of awareness and determination can be correlated to  
2 the rise of political expression, increased com-  
3 munication and a willingness to examine the life  
4 style in the face of real and threatened incursions  
5 by governments and their institutions.

6 In my view, real and imagined  
7 polarization precipitated a healthy response. While  
8 there are many dangers involved in putting forth this  
9 argument, I can say that the developing stewardship  
10 of native organizations has created positive role  
11 models which compete with and replace southern  
12 stereo types. The process of psychological and  
13 actual demoralization which began initially with the  
14 arrival of traders is reversing. The net result is  
15 positive and must continue.

16 The concept of prevention  
17 of alcohol problems in the Northwest Territories has  
18 taken a more active role in the overall. The expression  
19 of just plain 'fed-up-ness' by the people of the  
20 Northwest Territories has determined several changes  
21 in policy and a more democratic process in determining  
22 the availability of alcohol. Recent legislative  
23 change on local option and the closing of the liquor  
24 outlet in Frobisher Bay at the demand of the people  
25 are prime examples.

26 The question of whether  
27 official government policies and/or programs had any  
28 effect is moot. I do not think that we had any  
29 significant input into the result except to support  
30 the intervention by the people themselves.



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 Problems associated with  
2 high consumption levels: This is an area in which the  
3 majority of understanding breaks down; first as the  
4 problems are defined and as they are attributed to  
5 specific acts. I have attempted to be clear about  
6 per capita consumption as an indicator of trend. I  
7 cannot be as clear in the problem area because the  
8 logic of cause-effect cannot sustain challenge.  
9 Nevertheless, certain problem areas are connected  
10 to the active drinking as a consequence, most of which  
11 are indicators of activity and not necessarily  
12 absolute in their effect.

13 The reason for this is that  
14 human behavior is not entirely predictable. Therefore,  
15 statistical evidence in this field must be accepted  
16 as speculative and not necessarily conclusive of  
17 cause-effect.  
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Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

An increasing body of evidence is emerging that there is a significant or high relationship between the incidence of crime and drink. Perhaps the best description of this relationship is contained in the final report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs. Of all drugs used medically or non-- I'm quoting directly from the report here --

"Of all the drugs used medically or non-medically, alcohol has the strongest and most consistent relationship to crime. In addition to over 2½ million convictions for offences directly related to alcohol in Canada every year, including drunkenness offences, violations of the Liquor Control laws such as operating stills, illegal importation and sales, and drunken and impaired driving, many other crimes are also related to alcohol use. Alcohol use is frequently correlated with certain crimes in the chronic drunkenness offender or Skid Row alcoholic. Most of the offences committed by such persons are typically minor non-drug offences such as vagrancy, trespassing, or panhandling, which are often related to their lack of funds for food, shelter, or more alcohol. Petty theft is an occasional charge and it has been suggested that in order to break into jail, temporarily for food and shelter, some individuals may commit some



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 minor disturbance or crime against property.

2                               There is an abundance  
3 of evidence relating alcohol use to more serious  
4 crimes. Homicide is strongly correlated with  
5 alcohol use. In one frequently cited study in  
6 Philadelphia, alcohol was present in either  
7 the offender or the victim in 64% of the homi-  
8 cides over a five-year period. In 70% of the  
9 alcohol-related cases, alcohol was present  
10 in both the offender and the victim, while in  
11 only 17 and 14% of the cases, had only the  
12 offender or the victim respectively been  
13 drinking. Murders were committed by stabbing,  
14 kicking, or beating by fists, or with a blunt  
15 instrument in 70% of the cases, suggesting that  
16 serious alcohol-involved crimes tend to be  
17 unpremeditated, physical assault. A study of  
18 coroners' cases in Victoria found that out of  
19 41 murder victims tested for alcohol, 19 had  
20 a blood alcohol level of over 0.15%. A Canad-  
21 ian study of ex-prisoners concluded that an  
22 abnormally high proportion had committed  
23 crimes against property. Excessive drinkers  
24 also had a higher proportion of sex crimes.  
25 A strong relationship between alcohol use  
26 and sex crimes such as rape and incest has been  
27 demonstrated in many other studies around the  
28 world.

29                               Persons with alcohol pro-  
30 blems constitute a considerable proportion of



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 people imprisoned in Canada for serious  
2 offences. Of a total of 4,057 males who  
3 were committed to Penitentiaries for such  
4 offences in 1969, 1,053 or 20% were judged to  
5 be problem drinkers and 360 or 9% were alcohol-  
6 ics, making a total of 29% of the admitted  
7 male inmates with serious identified drinking  
8 problems. Of some selected crimes, alcoholics  
9 and problem drinkers were involved in 33% of  
10 the murders, 38% of the attempted murders, 54%  
11 of the manslaughters, 39% of rapes, 42% of other  
12 sexual offences, and 61% of assaults. Of female  
13 admission for serious crimes, 16 or 22% out of  
14 a total of 72 were judged to be problem drinkers."

15 That's the end of the quote  
16 from the LeDain Commission's final report.

17 I've included here an indica-  
18 tor which correlates with the per capita consumption  
19 graph and this was a preliminary report from Statistics  
20 Canada which indicated certain crimes as they were  
21 tabulated in the Northwest Territories were in fact  
22 higher than the national average, and I listed them  
23 in their order as they come right off the report from  
24 Statistics Canada, and you will note that crimes of  
25 violence, the general average is almost eight times  
26 the national rate -- 7.97 times the national average.  
27 The crime of murder is 8.79 times the national average,  
28 and attempted murder, 3.43; rape, 6.74; wounding, 7.20;  
29 and assaults, 9.88.

30 As you go down the list you





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In Chief

1 see that the situation in the Northwest Territories  
2 is corroborative of the indicators in Mr. LeDain's  
3 final report, that in fact with a high consumption  
4 level, as indicated by the graph, we do have a very  
5 high rate of criminal activity, particularly crimes  
6 of violence.

7 In addition to these  
8 statistics, police authorities retained overnight in  
9 1974 in the Northwest Territories under Section 80  
10 of the Northwest Territories Liquor Ordinance, a total  
11 of 6,398 people in local lockups throughout the  
12 Territories. Many of them, of course, were repeaters.  
13 Further, in 1974 there were 427 people in the  
14 correctional system, 349 -- that's for the period  
15 of the year -- 349 of whom were jailed as a direct  
16 cause of an alcohol-related offence. Of course, not  
17 mentioned here is the number of unrecorded near crimes  
18 or neglected children, public nuisance and general  
19 anti-social behaviour for which a certain degree of  
20 tolerance or acceptance has been sustained.

21 The contribution of alcohol  
22 to the general well-being within the Northwest Terri-  
23 tories is questionable to say the least. Perhaps a  
24 point can be made that alcohol can be associated  
25 with all the major health problems due to the  
26 significant correlation of drinkers who statistically  
27 manage to comprise a very high proportion of clientele  
28 in all the major disease categories.

29 Moreover, LeDain's comment  
30 that alcohol's contribution to a general demoralization



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 or a lowering of the tone and determination required  
2 for a healthy society is particularly appropriate to  
3 the Northwest Territories. In fact, this statement  
4 is particularly significant when coupled to a govern-  
5 ment official's comment that,

6 "Native peoples are children, have no culture,  
7 and must be kept in line."

8 This constant stereotyping does little to contribute  
9 to the dignity of people, nor does it contribute to  
10 positive mental health.

11 Statistical evidence in the  
12 area of public health systems in the Northwest Terri-  
13 tories is generally unavailable and what there is is  
14 unreliable. I would, however, direct your attention  
15 to "Alcohol Problems in Canada", which documents the  
16 data for Canada. I am certain that if such comprehen-  
17 sive data were available, a similar picture could be  
18 constructed for the Northwest Territories.

19 I'd just like to take a  
20 moment now and on page 11 in "Alcohol Problems in  
21 Canada" is a comment which related somewhat to a  
22 question that was put forward to Mr. Raddi earlier,  
23 and under the category entitled:

24 "High Risk Groups",

25 there is a portion, a short paragraph which I'll read:

26 "Some segments of Canadian society are more  
27 vulnerable to alcohol-related problems than  
28 others. Native peoples and our youth are  
29 two groups that provide particular cause for  
30 concern. "



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In Chief

It lists native people as being the highest high-risk group, in other words it's No. 1 on the list.

"Even though adequate statistics are not available, it is without question true to say that health problems associated with the use of alcohol are enormous among native people . Heavy drinking is described by the British Columbia Union of Indian Chiefs as epidemic in proportion. It has been estimated that the life expectancy of native heavy drinkers is 30 to 40 years less than the national average. Such people suffer a disproportionately higher number of violent deaths and diseases; accidental deaths are four times greater and suicides are three times greater when compared to non-native populations."

As mentioned, as I mentioned earlier there is a host of health problems wherein alcohol has a strong correlation but perhaps the most significant for the Northwest Territories are the problems associated with family disruption. In the Northwest Territories alcohol is the most destructive contributor to the breakdown of family relationships. If we had systematically set out to destroy a society, or a series of societies, we could not have done a better job. The results may be viewed in a number of institutional responses -- and by that I mean the number of services that we tend to develop as a result of a problem that manifests itself -- to varying



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problems created as a consequence. The confusion in traditional roles and functions normally undertaken within family structures which, of course, extended throughout tribal nations and family, extended family situations, has increased. The natural order has been destroyed, not only in the immediate but more probably on a permanent basis due in part largely to our institutional intrusion. An extreme example is the apprehending and placing of neglected children, the likelihood of them returning to their homes being somewhat slim.

Throughout this process the exact role of alcohol as to its cause and effect remains uncertain, although the wealth of the parent evidence suggests a strong linkage.





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 Historically the perspective  
2 of prevention surrounding the misuse the alcohol has  
3 taken two forms; that of legislative sanction and  
4 remedial activities. Within the last twenty years  
5 there have been efforts to educate and inform as a  
6 means of prevention. The vast majority of these  
7 efforts have failed in North American society.

8 Each year we continue to  
9 create the environmental conditions to produce more  
10 and more chronic alcohol misuse, despite the many  
11 millions of dollars spent on remedial, educational  
12 type programs.

13 In the context of legislation,  
14 the pendulum has swung from severe restrictions to  
15 the minimum of sanctions. Throughout history, this  
16 has been the case providing an interesting perspective  
17 on the nature of legislative prevention. Governments  
18 of Canada and the provinces have recognized the  
19 validity of utilizing the law to prevent problems  
20 but have failed to intercede except in times of  
21 national interest and one item falling under that  
22 category would be the Federal Government in 1942, I  
23 believe, '41 or '42 restricted the manufacture of  
24 alcohol as a means to increase the war effort or to  
25 suit their particular philosophy.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: They  
27 rationed it too, didn't they, during the war?

28 A Yes, that's correct.  
29 Ultimately the provinces were left with the res-  
30 ponsibility of attempting the rationing system. The



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 Federal Government, in fact, put a clamp on the actual  
2 quantity manufacture.

3                                 Within the Northwest  
4 Territories, preventive legislation suffers from  
5 similar trends of thought. Nevertheless, the  
6 Northwest Territories government has at times recognized  
7 the problem and moved beyond the scope of existing  
8 legislation to create a remedial atmosphere. For  
9 example, the closing of the liquor outlet in Frobisher  
10 Bay and the removal of fortified wines from the  
11 shelves in the liquor stores.

12                               Perhaps a comment here is  
13 appropriate regarding the vested interest involved  
14 in creating change in liquor legislation. Without  
15 alcohol freely available, the need for the majority  
16 of people services would be reduced substantially.  
17 This would be accompanied by the potential loss of  
18 profits in the private sector as well as some jobs.  
19 Such a measure might also be politically unpalatable.  
20 In addition to this, governments are the major  
21 recipients of revenue derived from the sale of alcohol  
22 products.

23                               Therefore, the need for  
24 adequate preventive legislation is counter-balanced  
25 not only by the normal checks and balances, but also  
26 by the various personal, institutional and political  
27 biases that are in existence. Success in preventing  
28 serious problems from continuing with the sale of  
29 alcohol is often overlooked in favor of the need for  
30 increased revenue, influence, status or just plain



Raddi, Bruce  
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1 growth.

2 Let me now turn to the  
3 government policy and that is the Northwest Territories  
4 government policy on alcohol pricing and its net  
5 effect on consumption patters in the Northwest  
6 Territories. My basic understanding of economics  
7 is limited but I fail to comprehend why alcohol  
8 products are equalized throughout the Northwest  
9 Territories. The term equalized refers to the practice  
10 of the liquor system to have a similar price, an  
11 exact same price in each liquor store throughout the  
12 Northwest Territories regardless of where that store  
13 may be.

14 The price of a given alcohol  
15 product is set F. O. B. Hay River and the markup is  
16 added and the transportation costs are averaged  
17 throughout the system. To my knowledge, no other  
18 commodity is treated in this manner. The net effect,  
19 in my view, is to give an unfair special treatment  
20 to one commodity, that of alcohol, over the remainder.  
21 The problem, of course, if that alcohol is not a  
22 necessity. It is, in fact, a dangerous drug and  
23 creates countless problems in every community.

24 Further, I suspect that this  
25 policy is one of the contributing factors to the misuse  
26 of alcohol due to its effect of providing alcohol  
27 at lower costs in relation to basic food stuffs.  
28 Native leaders have questioned this pricing policy  
29 without successful results to date.

30 With respect to the Mackenzie





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 Valley communities, I'm not prepared to discuss  
2 specific situations throughout the valley. Those  
3 who reside in the communities are better equipped,  
4 have lived in their situation and are more expert than  
5 I.

6 Furthermore, many people have  
7 provided testimony sufficient to demonstrate the  
8 present condition. Generally though, from the  
9 evidence gathered over the past four or five years,  
10 it appears that per capita consumption levels are  
11 decreasing, specifically in the smaller communities.  
12 The single most glaring exception is the City of  
13 Yellowknife. While some appreciable increase in  
14 population accounts for parts of the increases, it is  
15 apparent that Yellowknife is the major contributor  
16 to the rise in per capita alcohol consumption in the  
17 Northwest Territories.

18 A major shift has occurred  
19 in the communities in the valley where interest in  
20 solving rather than contributing to problems has  
21 occurred. In part, I believe, this Commission has  
22 positively contributed to this phenomenon in the  
23 outlying settlements. What part this Inquiry has  
24 played in Yellowknife, I will leave to the speculators.

25 A general comment would be  
26 that we often hear the negative aspects of drinking  
27 and its associated behavior throughout the communities.  
28 Seldom do we hear of the more positive reactions and  
29 of the constructive solutions beginning to take form  
30 and substance. Certainly it can be said that every



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 community has drinking problems and they can be  
2 categorized and listed according to the current trend  
3 of negative thought. Nevertheless, the problems  
4 are being addressed with some success by the people  
5 themselves within their own communities and within  
6 the limitations of their resources.

7 With respect to the  
8 implications of major developments, to some degree  
9 there are innumerable difficulties associated with  
10 a satisfactory prognosis of pipeline development.  
11 Given my previous indications of a developing response  
12 to the solution of problems in the Mackenzie Valley,  
13 the intended pipeline would have a negative effect  
14 if sufficient protections were not available.

15 The first and foremost, of  
16 course, is an ethical response by the Government  
17 of Canada to the land claims of the Dene and to the  
18 Nunavut proposals; one that all Canadians can rightly  
19 support. The resolution of these claims will determine  
20 ultimately the net effect throughout the Mackenzie  
21 Valley.

22 Secondly, the Dene and the  
23 Inuit have to determine their own philosophy and  
24 policy with respect to alcohol. This is an extremely  
25 important point as policy decisions are determined  
26 from the basic philosophy and I trust that the Dene  
27 and Inuit will capitalize on the error of all other  
28 governments in Canada.

29 Thirdly, the major contractors  
30 must act responsively and with good faith in their



Raddi, Bruce,  
In Chief

1 handling of behavioural problems throughout their  
2 operations. At this point, it cannot be assumed that  
3 alcohol and behavioural problems generally will be  
4 resolved as a matter of course. Solutions must  
5 be planned and carried out with determination.

6 Examples of the lack of  
7 preparedness in the immediate area of the Alyeska  
8 Pipeline in Alaska include specifically the problems  
9 of enforcement; who performs the task, who is going  
10 to perform the task in the Northwest Territories or  
11 in Mackenzie District and who's going to pay for it  
12 and I might add here how is it going to be done  
13 and under what circumstances and how realistic is  
14 that kind of planning?

15 The increases in the need  
16 for special services due to poor planning, for instance,  
17 is my understanding that the Government of Alaska  
18 is in a position now of having to create treatment  
19 and rehabilitation facilities in various communities  
20 throughout Alaska as a result of the activity in and  
21 around the Alyeska Pipeline at tremendous costs.  
22 For instance, <sup>in</sup> one district alone I was told that it  
23 was going to cost roughly in the area of a million  
24 dollars for one small facility because of the high  
25 cost of expertise.

26 While these problems may  
27 not appear to be the responsibility of contractors  
28 directly, nevertheless they are a direct consequence  
29 of the project. Population increases as a result  
30 of the activity of pipeline companies, sub-contractors



Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 and service industries are bound to happen. Therefore,  
2 the policies of the major contractors are of great  
3 importance.

4 Lastly, the Government of the  
5 Northwest Territories must re-examine their philosophy  
6 with respect to the availability of alcohol with the  
7 Dene and Inuit and come to some agreement with them  
8 as to policy. Again I cannot emphasize this point  
9 adequately. It is not sufficient to assume that  
10 alcohol misuse problems will resolve themselves  
11 concurrent with development or with the resolution  
12 of land claims.

13 The process of rebuilding  
14 a strong self-determined society in the Mackenzie  
15 has begun. Major unplanned development, regardless  
16 of the time span, will, I predict, have disastrous  
17 results. I would expect a return of the patterns  
18 of high consumption and subsequent behavioural problems.  
19 I would expect the destruction of many cultures, the  
20 over-running of a series of communities, a rampage  
21 of uncontrolled lawlessness as witnessed in some of  
22 the communities in days gone by, far beyond anything  
23 previously seen in this region.

24 While it may well be difficult  
25 to bend one's mind to this, Canadians must recognize  
26 two facts of our history. The first is that this  
27 country's first European men came to this area with  
28 the express intent of exploiting native people for  
29 the furs they could barter with liquor. The second  
30 is that native people did not ask for liquor and for





Raddi, Bruce  
In Chief

1 this they have paid a terrible price. In my mind,  
2 these situations are not beyond us, as evidenced by  
3 a few of the comments and remarks expressed to this  
4 Commission of Inquiry. Thank you.  
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Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,  
2 that completes the evidence in chief of this panel and  
3 the panel is now ready for cross-examination.

4 MR. ROLAND: MR. Sigler?

5  
6 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SIGLER:

7 Q Sam, I'd like to ask  
8 you a few questions. It's Murray Sigler. First of  
9 all, Mr. Bayly towards the end of his questioning  
10 asked for your opinion on different proposals that  
11 had been suggested to control the sale and availability  
12 of liquor. He asked you about elimination or quota  
13 systems and pricing. I'd just like to ask you about  
14 a few other suggestions that have been made, for  
15 your opinion on them.

16 First of all, what's your  
17 opinion on a different approach to merchandising of  
18 liquor? I'm thinking there of such things as removal  
19 of fortified wines and high-alcohol content beverages  
20 from the liquor that is available for sale here.

21 WITNESS RADDI: I'm not  
22 too clear what you ask.

23 Q Do you support the  
24 notion, say, of removing the fortified wines from the  
25 liquor that is sold in the government outlets? Do you  
26 think that's been successful at all?

27 A You mean the sales of  
28 liquor, referring to Inuvik?

29 Q Right.

30 A The sales of liquor is



Raddi, Bruce  
C ross-Exam by Sigler

1 too open, too available, and what I'm saying is it's  
2 too available for bootleggers, for one thing. I'm  
3 concerned about bootleggers. Bootleggers, they sell  
4 liquor to even kids and I think bootleggers should  
5 be considered as people that hijack airplanes,  
6 that's the kind of punishment they should get because  
7 in the government, whoever sets up the sales of  
8 liquor should think about who is buying liquor the  
9 most. There is a lot of kids that are minors now  
10 that are in trouble with booze that go in jail. Where  
11 are they getting their liquor from? Most of it is  
12 being -- where they get them from is bootleggers,  
13 and bootleggers have not been considered by the people  
14 that sell liquor, the Government Liquor Stores, and  
15 I think they should put more restrictions on the  
16 sales of liquor, cut down the sales on a quota system.  
17 If they don't want to do that they should think about  
18 the penalty for bootleggers and I think that's  
19 because it's hard to catch a guy that bootlegs. Like  
20 for example, if people, if a cab driver takes a case  
21 of liquor down to Tuk and the cop stops him, the guy  
22 just says, "Well, it's my property," you know, as long  
23 as the R.C.M.P. don't see the guy selling the liquor  
24 to somebody else, the R.C.M.P. can't do anything  
25 about that. I think <sup>if</sup> the bootleggers know the penalty  
26 is going to be heavy they may reconsider.

27 Q. Do you see it then as  
28 a problem of enforcement?

29 A Yes, it is a problem of  
30 enforcement. I think first of all the Government





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 Liquor Store should have a quota system on the amount  
2 of liquor that is sold in Liquor Stores. It would  
3 be good for the people. Liquor would still be available  
4 for those that drink reasonably well, and yet it  
5 would cut down the sales of bootleggers.

6 Q Right. Perhaps, Mr.

7 Bruce, you could comment on the report that was  
8 made on the removal of fortified wines and if this  
9 notion could be extended to any of the other products  
10 that are available now?

11 WITNESS BRUCE: Perhaps by  
12 way of sort of a quick historical perspective, this  
13 approach began in Manitoba with the concern of the  
14 rising amounts of violence throughout the northern  
15 half of the province, and they decided that those  
16 products that can be categorized as "more bang for  
17 your buck" or 20% by volume fortified type wines  
18 were in fact removed, and they found that there was  
19 a considerable decrease in the amount of violence  
20 throughout the northern half of the province. We  
21 adopted it here for the very same reason, for  
22 specific areas in the Northwest Territories. Whether  
23 or not it's a success, I can't really say. I don't  
24 -- I wouldn't like to even speculate on whether or  
25 not other products would fall in that same kind of  
26 categorization. That would be about one year ago  
27 from this point in time.

28 Q But the experience of  
29 Manitoba where it was tried was successful, they  
30 felt?



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1                                   A     The early reports were  
2 very suc cessful. The first year reports indicated  
3 that there was a tremendous drop in the degree and  
4 the amount of violence.

5                                   Q     I'd like to ask both  
6 Sam and yourself what you think the policy on banning  
7 of lifestyle advertising might have, relating it  
8 to the Northwest Territories? My impression is that  
9 Mr. Lalonde has lately been coming out for the last  
10 year or two suggesting that lifestyle liquor advertis-  
11 ing be eliminated voluntarily, first of all by the  
12 manufacturers or distributors of liquor, and if not  
13 then by threatening legislation. He commented on  
14 that. I wonder what the position would be first of  
15 all for Sam, what your response would be to having  
16 some control in the types of liquor advertising that  
17 was carried out in the north in the media?

18                                  WITNESS RADDI: I don't  
19 think that would work at all, Murray, because when  
20 I came out from Ottawa and I was always listening  
21 to T.V., and they were advertising beer, so I don't  
22 think it makes any difference at all trying to ban  
23 that, that kind of advertisement on the radio or  
24 newspapers. Maybe just put down in paper that alcoholism  
25 could be dangerous if you take too much, but saying  
26 alcoholism        is no good, I think that's wrong, you  
27 know.

28                                  Q     So you don't feel that  
29 the advertising that's been carried out that the  
30 people have seen in the north has had that, has been



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 that big a factor in leading the people to drink?

2 A No, I don't think that  
3 wouldn't change anything at all, if you banned the  
4 advertisement of sales or types of liquor.

5 Q What do you think of  
6 that, Mr. Bruce? Say relating it not only to the people  
7 of the delta but say to people in places like Yellow-  
8 knife, where you said it is a major area of consumption?

9 WITNESS BRUCE: Well, it  
10 seems to me that it is my opinion, to answer directly,  
11 that lifestyle advertising should in effect be elimina-  
12 ted and the basic reason for that, as far as my own  
13 thinking is concerned, is that native peoples in the  
14 Northwest Territories already have a considerable  
15 number of role models, both good, bad, and in-between  
16 and they really should not be subjected to this kind  
17 of advertising. Neither should the population at  
18 large. It seems to me that not everybody has access  
19 to a balloon, and to sort of paraphrase one ad that  
20 I remember seeing quite well, not everybody has access  
21 to a 40 to \$50,000 sailing yacht, and I think the most  
22 important point with regard to advertising is that it  
23 is in fact a reinforcement. Every time an ad comes  
24 on, it is a reinforcement, you know, for the activity  
25 of drinking, and it seems that the advertising tends  
26 to direct one's attention to the fact that you can't  
27 have fun unless you're drinking, and that every  
28 activity is a drinking activity, and those of us who  
29 do other kinds of things know that you can have fun  
30 without having liquor around, and that you don't have





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 to have a \$40,000 yacht or a \$10,000 balloon in order  
2 to enjoy oneself.

3 Q Sam, I take it that  
4 you agree more with the approach that was taken in  
5 Frobisher Bay where the Liquor Store was closed down  
6 but the licenced outlet, the bar was -- stays open  
7 providing drinking in a controlled atmosphere for  
8 limited hours in a day. You agree with that approach  
9 rather than outright prohibition of alcohol in a  
10 community?

11 WITNESS RADDI: I agree with  
12 liquor in camps. If the pipeline happened to  
13 get on, the question that John asked me before was  
14 how do I think about a bar in a camp. I think that  
15 will be all right but I have not been <sup>in</sup> a camp before  
16 to live there, but to take away liquor completely from  
17 a camp, I don't think it will do any good. But to  
18 have a small bar in a camp, but not to take beer out.  
19 Talking about Frobisher Bay, the people in Frobisher  
20 Bay wanted to ban liquor outlets right off, and it  
21 seems to be working over there, but how long it will  
22 work I don't know. There will always be somebody who  
23 will want to take booze in their community, and how  
24 long will they go without that booze? They may start  
25 stealing it or <sup>transporting it or</sup> ordering it in there somehow. It  
26 seems to work for the people who live there anyway.

27 Q Well maybe, Mr. Bruce,  
28 you could comment on that. Like with your crime  
29 statistics that you've shown, would it be a fair  
30 observation to make that most of the crimes related





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 to alcohol use and abuse takes place, say, in homes  
2 or away from the actual licenced premises that the  
3 actual drinking in the controlled environment of a  
4 licenced premises hasn't led to that many problems  
5 in the north?

6 WITNESS BRUCE: That appears  
7 to be the case with regard to Frobisher Bay, yes.  
8 I must, you know, caution any kind of generalization from  
9 that situation because the liquor system has indicated  
10 to the licencees that their licences are up for taking  
11 off the wall, so to speak, or they're liable to be  
12 closed down if any adverse activity is reported in  
13 their establishment. So there is a very strong movement  
14 towards controlling the kind of drinking that is in  
15 fact going on in the establishment. That is not the  
16 case in all the other establishments in the Northwest  
17 Territories.

18 Q What I'm getting at is  
19 that if there is a controlled environment, then  
20 surely the problem becomes one of enforcement of the  
21 regulations or of the legislation that is supposed  
22 to control that drinking environment, that if it's  
23 properly enforced then perhaps some of the problems  
24 would be removed. Has it been an enforcement problem as  
25 far as your opinion, relating to part of the problems  
26 up here?

27 A In Frobisher Bay?

28 Q Well, generally.

29 A Generally, yes, there  
30 has been an enforcement problem. The Northwest



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 Territories suffers from the same kind of a problem  
2 that most of the southern jurisdictions do, and that  
3 is there seems to be a hole between who has jurisdiction  
4 over the licenced premises. Police authorities or  
5 enforcement authorities of the police type have  
6 categorically refused to enter licenced premises and  
7 in fact attempt to, you know, maintain some order,  
8 indicating that it's the responsibility of the liquor  
9 system, and the liquor system being manpower short  
10 and not necessarily in the business of looking after,  
11 you know, everyday behaviour indicates that it's  
12 really a police problem. Consequently if the operator  
13 of the licenced establishment is not on his toes,  
14 and is not in fact maintaining any kind of order,  
15 that situation can go for a very extended period of  
16 time before something is done about it.

17 There is, you know, several  
18 ~~small~~ problems relating to the legality of the situation  
19 and there seems to be a difference of opinion with  
20 regard to the police authorities where they indicate  
21 that there is no -- they have no right to go into an  
22 establishment because it is not a public place.  
23 It seems that the opposite is true with regard to  
24 the liquor system people. They have indicated that  
25 it is in fact a public place and it is their respon-  
26 sibility to enforce the laws of the Territory.

27 Q Well, maybe to relate  
28 that same point further, apart from licenced premises,  
29 one of the major concerns that Sam pointed out for  
30 the people in the delta was one of bootleggers. Now,



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 I'm correct aren't I when I say that the last Territorial  
2 Council session there were amendments made to the  
3 ordinance to increase the penalty for bootleggers.  
4 Once again, aren't we into an enforcement problem  
5 rather than a legislative problem?

6 A Yes, yes, that's  
7 correct. Just by way of comment I have the greatest  
8 amount of sympathy for the policeman who is attempting  
9 to go through the process of catching a bootlegger.  
10 It appears that it's a long drawn-out lengthy process  
11 involving a considerable amount of evidence, of taking  
12 an individual caught in the process of bootlegging  
13 -- that is if you have the evidence -- to the Court  
14 room and only to have the individual receive, if  
15 convicted, a small fine and find the individual  
16 back on the street, back in business within 15 minutes  
17 after the Court hearing. That kind of activity does  
18 not lend itself to good enforcement, and it leads to  
19 a general demoralization with respect to not only the  
20 law but the intent of the law, and the activity of  
21 the policeman who eventually becomes so frustrated  
22 that he refrains from any further action, So boot-  
23 legging is kind of a vague area with regard to  
24 enforcement at this point in time.

25 Q But you would agree  
26 that during any pipeline construction period that  
27 plans for increased law enforcement should address  
28 themselves to dealing with the infractions of the  
29 Liquor Ordinance?

30 A Yes, definitely.





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

Q And that there is an enforcement problem already today in many of the communities when it comes to say bootleggers, and also enforcing of the regulations for say consumption in licenced premises.

A I agree. I would think that the important point here is that these kind of issues have to be planned as far as their development is concerned in relation to the major contractors, the various native peoples in the communities concerned, and they should be planned now if we're talking about, you know, several years down the road.

Q Well, have the R.C.M.P. at all about been contacting your department' planning for these kinds of enforcement services?

A No, not directly.

Q Has your department or Territorial Government, as far as you've been aware, been attempting to take some initiative in planning for this type of enforcement?

A Yes, we have. We have made some initiatives primarily along the line of trying to speculate, if I may use that word, on the nature and degree of the potential of the problems, and attempting to build into any intended agreements between Governments of the Northwest Territories and the Governments of Canada the kinds of responsibilities and liabilities that could be operative and perhaps reduce the chances of these kinds of problems from getting out of hand.

Q Are you aware of whether



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 the enforcement of the Liquor Ordinance was seen as  
2 a large priority for the Territorial Government in  
3 negotiating the contract with the R.C.M.P. for the  
4 provision of police services?

5 A The current contract,  
6 you're referring to?

7 Q The one that's being  
8 negotiated right now.

9 A Right now. To my  
10 knowledge, yes, it is. It certainly was as far as  
11 I was concerned because it occupied a very high  
12 priority.

13 Q Now, on page 13 of your  
14 evidence, Mr. Bruce, under your implications of  
15 major development, you say:

16 "Secondly, the Dene and the Inuit have to  
17 determine their own philosophy and policy  
18 with respect to alcohol."

19 I wonder if you could elaborate on the point you're  
20 making there?

21 A Well, essentially the  
22 point is as Sam has pointed out, and it should be  
23 quite evident to everybody in this room that all of  
24 us do not agree on what in fact should be the rules  
25 and regulations with respect to the availability of  
26 alcohol. I think that one of the things that, what  
27 I'm referring to basically is that native people, whether  
28 they be Dene or Inuit, need to sit down and determine  
29 what it is within their own value system and their  
30 culture and their social institutions, what it is that



Raddi, Bruce  
C ross-Exam by Sigler

1 they want in terms of the availability of alcohol  
2 themselves. You know, do they want it? Don't they want  
3 it? If they do want it, under what conditions, etc.  
4 etc. , and come to the table with the Territorial  
5 Government and come to a meeting of the minds with  
6 respect to availability in every community, and the  
7 conditions under which it is made available, such as  
8 the suggestion that Sam has made which may very well  
9 work satisfactorily, in some communities an upper  
10 limit of how much one can purchase, for instance, may  
11 be a satisfactory arrangement for <sup>the</sup> Community of  
12 Tuktoyaktuk but it may not be a satisfactory arrange-  
13 ment for, for instance, the Community of Inuvik, and  
14 some determination as to the basic philosophy of the  
15 native groups within the framework of their culture is  
16 necessary prior to sitting down and saying, "Yes,  
17 we do," or "No, we don't."

18 Q But it's also applicable  
19 to government, and too, I trust, that the government  
20 must adopt a philosophy before it can get a meaningful  
21 policy. Would you agree on that?

22 A Yes, that's quite true.

23 Q Would you say that the  
24 Territorial Government has adopted a philosophy towards  
25 the use or non-use of alcohol in the Territories?

26 A Except by way of  
27 accident, no. The accident of the fact that alcohol  
28 is available, has been available, and is a major  
29 revenue source for the Territorial Government, there  
30 is no operative philosophy or set of objectives for



Raddi, Bruce  
C ross-Exam by Sigler

1 the availability of alcohol in the Territorial  
2 Government.

3 Q So you would agree with  
4 me then if I said that for the followup to that second  
5 recommendation, is that the government carry through  
6 then to adopt a philosophy that can be the basis for  
7 its policy.





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 A Yes.

2 Q And would you agree with  
3 me that--you would recommend that this be a community  
4 by community  
5 philosophy or it should be a uniform philosophy?

6 A I would hope that two  
7 things would happen by way of explanation. First of  
8 all, that Dene people and Inuit people would determine,  
9 as I mentioned before, within their culture and in  
10 their value system what position alcohol plays in  
11 their society and perhaps better said, develop  
12 a philosophy. I would also hope that the current  
13 legislation which was just changed in May of this  
14 year would remain on the books because it seems to  
15 me that communities need to have the opportunity to  
16 shut off the tap on occasion or if that is their  
17 means by which they can change the situation in which  
18 they find themselves.

19 Q So, then I guess you're  
20 agreeing with me because you're saying that the  
21 present legislation which adopts a community by  
22 community approach to availability, you feel is the  
23 right approach for the Territories?

24 A Yes.

25 Q And Sam, do you agree  
26 that that's the right approach for the Territories,  
27 a community having the right of taking the decision  
28 to shut off the valve or to control the valve?

29 WITNESS RADDI: Yes, I agree  
30 with that and also each community should be able to  
31 have the freedom to ask what kind of programs they want,



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

for an alcohol program  
if there's a problem in each settlement.

actual<sup>Q</sup> So, you follow through  
by saying that the treatment or educative program  
should be on a community by community basis as well?

A Yes, but first of all  
I think education in school, alcohol education be  
taught in school and they should be looking for more  
details, what grade level they should start. We have  
been asking to enforce this school curriculum all the  
time, the last few years, to have alcohol education  
in the schools taught to children right from grade  
six, right from then, so they can understand what  
alcohol really is.

Alcoholism should be taught  
in school and that curriculum should be enforced.  
Some teachers say they have the most sophisticated  
alcohol program in the school but I don't agree with  
that. They don't have any and if they do have one, is  
it enforced? Are they really using that curriculum?  
It should be taught in school as number one priority  
because even math or about the same time away.

Educate children in school  
how to use alcohol. Alcohol could be a good thing  
if people could understand more about it, learn more  
about it. It's new to the native people. It's not  
just something that they live with all the time. It's  
like education, math and reading and all these things  
are new to us and they are taught to us in schools,  
so alcohol is a new thing to us again. So, they should  
be taught in school to respect alcohol. It could be a



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 real good thing if people know how to use it, but as  
2 they grow up they find it brings them a lot of fun  
3 in the beginning but they don't understand what it  
4 could bring later on. So, it should be taught in  
5 school.

6 Q Thank you, Sam.

7 I have one last question. I'll ask it to Mr. Bruce.  
8 On page fourteen, Don, you state that in the part  
9 you've underlined there, you say:

10 "It is not sufficient to assume that alcohol  
11 misuse problems will resolve themselves concurrent  
12 with development or with the resolution of land  
13 claims".

14 Could you elaborate on the  
15 point you're trying to make there, or the  
16 significance of that statement to this Inquiry  
17 which is concerned with conditions that might be placed on  
18 development.

19 WITNESS BRUCE: It seems to  
20 me that the point I made on the previous page that  
21 planning must take place now with regard to how the  
22 problems are going to be handled, what the availability  
23 of alcohol is going to be, if in fact the pipeline  
24 becomes a fait accompli.

25 If that is not done now,  
26 those kinds of problems will be with us and there will  
27 be chaos. It seems to me that I've often heard the  
28 term or the comment made on the other side that land  
29 claims will resolve all the issues and all the problems.  
30 Land claims will not solve those kinds of problems with





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Sigler

1 regard to alcohol and alcohol misuse and the subsequent  
2 problems. They need to be planned. It has to be  
3 decided collectively, it seems to me, that what it  
4 is that we're going to do, what kind of roles we  
5 are going to have and what kind of--what we're going  
6 to do with the rule breakers, if I may, because it  
7 seems to me that has a bearing on what eventually will  
8 happen. That's the point that I'm trying to make.  
9 Does that help?

10 O I think so. So, you're  
11 basically saying the problem is going to be there now  
12 and it's still going to be there will either or both  
13 or development and/or land claim settlement?

14 A Correct.

15 Q But neither one is going  
16 to be a magic solution to the problem?

17 A Yes. That's correct.

18 MR. SIGLER: Those are all  
19 the questions I have sir.

20 MR. ROLAND: Mrs. MacQuarrie?

21 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MRS. MACQUARRIE:

22 MRS. MACQUARRIE: Mr. Raddi,  
23 you mentioned that the people often used home brew.  
24 Was this before or after the alcohol was available  
25 to them?

26 WITNESS RADDI: It was when  
27 the DEW line started when money was available to  
28 them. With more people in the communities, gathering  
29 from other settlements, and a lot of outsiders coming  
30 in to work on the DEW line and were made friends and



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 a lot of them taught us how to make home brew. So, we  
2 had the money to buy the ingredients and with their  
3 teaching, we learned to make better home brew and  
4 better home made beer.

5 But prior to the DEW line  
6 starting, in earlier years in the '40's, I only know  
7 of two people since '43 until '55 that drank twice  
8 with home brew and nobody was ever interested in  
9 making home brew at all. It was not a priority.  
10 We had other means of living, more things to do,  
11 things that they wanted to do.

12 Before the DEW line, home  
13 brew was not at all the thing, you know.

14 Q Dr. Cass mentioned the  
15 other day that the old pattern of drinking among Inuit  
16 people was only for special times like a feast and  
17 this kind of thing. Is that correct?

18 A Not with the Eskimos.  
19 We're called the Inuit. When I talk to my father  
20 and his cousin, Felix Novoyeak, from Tuk, during the  
21 whaling days--when the whalers first came to the  
22 country to the coast, they used to bring in barrels  
23 of hard liquor and everybody got drunk, you know.  
24 The whalers go ashore or take the people into the  
25 boats and they have one big whale of a party.

26 But after the whalers finished,  
27 it was not continued. They just forgot about it.  
28 They don't drink anymore. They don't even learn to  
29 make home brews at that time.

30 Q I see.



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A What Dr. Cass might have  
2 referred to--I don't know, maybe in the southern  
3 Mackenzie, I don't know.

4 Q Well, she said that  
5 prior to drum dances and this kind of thing, that  
6 perhaps the people would use some kind of a brew in  
7 order to prepare themselves for the ceremony.

8 A Wasn't she referring  
9 to the Indian--I heard one time Bill Lafferty mention  
10 that they used to make brew out of cranberries in the  
11 bush a long time ago, which the Eskimo we don't know  
12 of that ourselves.

13 Q Actually she mentioned  
14 fermented seal flippers and that didn't sound too  
15 palatable to me.

16 A I have eaten fermented  
17 seal flippers and never get drunk. I never even  
18 feel good with it.

19 Q It doesn't work then?

20 A I get diarrhea from  
21 it.

22 Q How much does bootleg  
23 liquor cost at Inuvik?

24 A It varies, with inflation  
25 must be very high. It used to sell for twenty  
26 dollars and over. I know some kids<sup>said</sup> they buy it for  
27 fifteen dollars. I guess bootleggers know they don't  
28 have that much money. Some of them buy it for twenty  
29 and I also heard that some of them buy it for a  
30 hundred dollars for twenty-six ounce. It varies with  
who they sell it to and who the seller is.



RADDi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

Q Who are the bootleggers?  
Are they white people or native people?

A It's the white people,  
Mostly cab drivers, you know, and I can't pin-  
point them because I never see them selling it, but  
one time I was a dispatcher for a taxi cab, and I own  
a taxi cab, and at the time I know they were selling,  
they would tell me themselves <sup>they used to brag about</sup> 'how much bottles they  
sell, but I never seen them selling a bottle to  
anyone. If I ever seen one, you know, I would  
report them so they never sell anything in  
front of me.

Q You mentioned that  
before the Eskimo people drank for fun, in your  
opinion has -- do they drink for different reasons  
now? Or is it still primarily to socialize?

A Well, when there was  
home brew, when we first start we used to have a lot  
of fun, you know; but as more people come in, the  
place built up as you get more outsiders coming in,  
and there's jealousy and again there is discrimination,  
there is people calling each other, "You white, you  
white man," and "You native," and all this stuff came  
out so that's when fights start, you know, and there's  
a lot of violence nowadays when there's booze involved.

Q In your opinion, are  
people drinking then to get away from their problems  
or just as a means of getting friendly with someone  
else and fitting into a group?

A Well, once you get





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 hooked with booze, as I was hooked with booze myself,  
2 I didn't drink to get away from problems, I just  
3 thought maybe a way to live, I was too far gone, you  
4 know. If I could make more money I'd drink more but at  
5 the time I wasn't making very much so I'm assuming  
6 that people drink not because they want to run away  
7 from their problems or whatever; they drink because  
8 the liquor is available and they got the money to  
9 drink. If they don't have the money, they got friends.  
10 There could be many reasons which we don't know. I  
11 guess we all understand once you get hooked with alco-  
12 hol, it's pretty hard to keep away. You want it all  
13 the time.

14 Q Did you have any help  
15 from the government or the community in order to  
16 overcome your own drinking problem? Did you belong  
17 to an Alcoholics Anonymous group or this kind of  
18 thing?

19 A Yes, I met an A.A.  
20 member and I got help from him. Not only to stop  
21 drinking, but also to understand myself, you know,  
22 so at the time I had a very good boss and he knew  
23 I was drinking too much, which I was not aware of.  
24 I thought I drank like anybody else. But he being very  
25 cautious about the way I was drinking, referred me  
26 to a guy that was an A.A. member.

27 Q So you didn't have to  
28 leave your home in order to get help for your drinking  
29 problem then?

30 A No. It wasn't easy



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 but I guess the harder you work for something that  
2 you want, the more you appreciate it later.

3 Q You mentioned that the  
4 Inuvik people are sometimes sent to Henwood in  
5 Edmonton, and why Henwood? Why don't they go to  
6 Poundmaker, which is the native rehabilitation place?

7 A Well, Joan, the  
8 Territorial Government have one referral, is to  
9 Henwood House, and maybe they know this other native  
10 alcohol centre, I don't know. But that's where they  
11 send them, to Edmonton.

12 Q Mr. Bruce, would you  
13 like to comment on that, please?

14 WITNESS BRUCE: It is the  
15 practice of the Territorial Government and the  
16 social workers within the Department of Social  
17 Development to make referrals to whatever resource  
18 is appropriate. It happened that Henwood as a  
19 facility of the Government of Alberta, was available  
20 prior to any other facility in Western Canada, and  
21 it was made available to the Northwest Territories  
22 at a very minimal cost. As a matter of fact, in the  
23 early stages and continuing right to this point,  
24 it is no cost to the Territorial Government.

25 Petapun is no longer.  
26 Poundmaker -- Petapun was in Meadow Lake,  
27 Saskatchewan. Poundmaker has now been closed to  
28 us as a facility that we may make referrals. Pound-  
29 maker is an Indian facility and primarily is designed  
30 for Indian people around their value system and their



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 culture, and a fair number of Indian people have been  
2 referred to Poundmaker in the past several years.

3 Q You say "the past  
4 several years", but Poundmaker has only been in  
5 existence for about, oh, 2½ or three years, I believe.

6 A Approximately three  
7 years.

8 Q Yes. Do you find that  
9 people who return from Poundmaker are -- have in fact  
10 recovered from their alcoholism? What is the success  
11 rate of people returning from Poundmaker as compared  
12 to Henwood?

13 A Well, I have to put that  
14 into perspective. The success rate generally throughout  
15 the business of rehabilitation and treatment runs  
16 anywhere between 10 and 25%, and that includes all  
17 forms of rehabilitation and treatment throughout  
18 North America. The success rate with regard to  
19 people moving from the Territories into those  
20 facilities is lower than the general average, for  
21 instance, for somebody from Alberta, primarily for  
22 the same reasons that Sam has pointed out, that they  
23 had a problem in their own community; they left the  
24 community to seek a resource to resolve the difficulty  
25 and had to come back into the same circumstances in  
26 which-- from which they left, irrespective of the fact  
27 that they may now be dry and sober and all those  
28 nice words, they still have the same conditions to  
29 cope with in their community, and with very few  
30 resources and in most cases none, you know, supportive





Raddi, Bruce  
C ross-Exam by MacQuarrie

resources. So the success is pretty narrow.

Q If Poundmaker is closed to northern residents now, the Henwood program is primarily a white oriented rehabilitation program. Do you send people who require alcohol rehabilitation to the Northern Addiction Services in Yellowknife then?

A Yes. It's a difficult question to answer in perspective. The Henwood program is available to people who want to go there, and they are forewarned that there are difficulties with the program if they are in fact native people, and we attempt to try to get people into programs that they prefer to go to rather than to those that just happen to be available.

Q The second part of the question then, are people from the delta who require alcohol rehabilitation sent to the Northern Addiction Services in Yellowknife?

A In some cases, yes.  
In most cases, no.

Q What would cause the difference in some and most?

A Largely the will of the individual who wants to go as far away from home.

Q But are they aware that this program exists and is available for them should they want to take advantage of it?

A Yes, yes, they are.



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q You seem to be addressing  
2 the alcohol problem as being a native problem. However,  
3 in the statistics that you compiled, Mr. Bruce, is  
4 this just the sale to native people, or is it to  
5 whites as well?

6 A There is no distinction  
7 in the statistical evidence at all.

8 Q And do your statistics  
9 indicate that because of the high sale these are  
10 necessarily alcoholics who have purchased it?

11 A No.

12 Q So there could be a  
13 large number of social drinkers included who don't  
14 have alcohol dominating their lives.

15 A There is a very large  
16 number of social drinkers, approximately -- you know,  
17 the general average is approximately 8% to 10% of  
18 a given population who are experiencing alcohol  
19 problems. I would suspect that it would be much  
20 higher in the Territories, but yes, those statistics  
21 with reference to per capita consumption does include  
22 or do include everybody 15 years of age and over in  
23 the Northwest Territories.

24 Q Is it a fairly reliable  
25 indicator of the alcoholic problem in the Territories?

26 A Not necessarily, no.  
27  
28  
29  
30



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Bruce,  
2 you're not telling us that you have any solution?  
3 You said that in the very first sentence of your  
4 evidence, at least not one that can be achieved by  
5 bringing in more professionals and more counselling,  
6 more money, more programs.

7 You've rejected that approach  
8 generally, as I understand your evidence, and you've  
9 suggested that the reduction in per capita consumption  
10 of alcohol in the Northwest Territories in the last  
11 year or two may have had nothing at all to do with  
12 government programs. Now, I don't know whether you  
13 read Dr. Abbott's evidence. He wasn't here. He hurt  
14 his back and couldn't come but it was read by Dr.  
15 Atcheson earlier in the week and Mr. Kehoe, a  
16 psychologist more or less stated the same view.

17 They discussed psychiatric  
18 disorders, which is endemic in the North and they  
19 reached the conclusion, both of them, as I understand  
20 them, that you could have a psychiatrist for every  
21 person in the North and it isn't going to do any  
22 good except marginally, apart from it being utterly  
23 impractical anyway. People have to believe they  
24 have something to live for, their sense of self-  
25 esteem of whole people has to be buttressed and that  
26 you seem to be saying the same thing here or getting  
27 at the same thing.

28 When you said at page four  
29 that:

30 "The developing stewardship of native organizations



raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 has created positive role models which compete  
2 with and replace other stereo types. The  
3 process of psychological and actual demoralization  
4 which began initially with the arrival of the  
5 traders is reversing".

6 That's an interesting  
7 statement and anyone who's been throughout this valley  
8 in the last year and a half, as I have been, can see  
9 the recrudescence of native values and native  
10 belief in themselves. At any rate, if you are pinned  
11 to the wall and asked to attribute a cause, assign a  
12 cause to this decline in the consumption of alcohol,  
13 you would assign it to that development.

14 A That's correct.

15 Q So, what you're telling  
16 us is that it is that kind of thing that in the long  
17 run will lead to a solution or at least a reduction,  
18 if not a solution; one I suppose never achieves a  
19 solution, to the problem of alcoholism in the  
20 Territories. Well, if that is so, what does it do  
21 for the white people who suffer from the same  
22 affliction at least alcoholism? Have you thought  
23 about that?

24 A Yes, I have.

25 Q You see, white people,  
26 many of them, feel very threatened by the notion that  
27 native people are asserting themselves and insisting  
28 upon what they conceive to be their rights. Now,  
29 have you given any thought to that?

30 A Yes, I have sir.





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q What do you think about  
2 that?

3 A Well, my first comment  
4 would be that I suspect that part of the responsibility  
5 for the tremendous rise in per capita consumption in  
6 the City of Yellowknife is probably attributable  
7 to the polarization process or the rise of political  
8 awareness of native peoples.

9 I can sense, you know, in the  
10 short time that I have been here, sort of a common  
11 cause feeling developing in and around the white  
12 population, particularly in the City of Yellowknife.  
13 It's sort of us against them kind of attitude. With  
14 respect to the resolution of the kinds of problems  
15 that white people have in the Northwest Territories,  
16 primarily in Yellowknife, it seems to me that the only  
17 thing that we can do is counsel government to continue  
18 because government happens to be the major employer  
19 as well as, of course, the mines, to continue in  
20 their policy of enforcing the regulations with respect  
21 to the availability of alcohol and also to increase  
22 their emphasis on employee addiction policies, for  
23 instance, where employees are in fact counselled and  
24 do have the right of access to treatment services,  
25 et cetera.

26 And to increase the level  
27 of awareness of supervisory personnel within the  
28 government on how to handle alcohol problems as they  
29 come across them. That is about the extent of my  
30 thinking. I really haven't carried it much further than



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 that because it does involve a very large segment of  
2 our population. It's the kind of problem that I,  
3 as a member of the working group that put together the  
4 Alcohol Problems in Canada paper, have been addressing  
5 ourselves to in, I might say quite frankly, a fair  
6 degree of frustration.

7 One of the reasons for the  
8 frustration is we find ourselves in a position of  
9 we against them. It seems the manufacturers of  
10 beverage alcohol products seem to have as much sway  
11 in terms of social policy, if not more sway in terms  
12 of social policy than the social policy makers.

13 So, essentially what I'm  
14 trying to say is we are as frustrated with the nature  
15 of that beast as everybody else is.

16 Q Sorry.

17 MRS. MACQUARRIE: In the  
18 past few years, particularly the Indian people have  
19 revived their native religion and many of the alcoholic  
20 natives that I know have been able to, because of  
21 their involvement in the native religion, overcome  
22 their problem with alcohol. Would this have a bearing  
23 on the reduction perhaps of the alcohol problem?

24 A Most certainly.

25 Q And I understand that  
26 among the Eskimo people that Reverend Armand Tagoon  
27 has made great strides in helping his people to overcome  
28 this problem. What assistance has been provided by  
29 your department to enable the native people to handle  
30 their problems in their own way?



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1                                   A     Well, essentially we  
2     have a program called the Community Resource Development  
3     Grants and it's essentially that, essentially providing  
4     money resources to communities to develop programs  
5     of their own within the context of their own community  
6     and their culture and their value system; the extent  
7     of which amounts this year in terms of budget,  
8     collectively between three levels of government or  
9     two levels of government and three separate distinct  
10    departments is slightly over a million dollars.

11                                  Q     Are these funds easily  
12    and readily available to the community groups or  
13    must they meet your standards in applying for the  
14    funds, like developing massive proposals, producing  
15    responsibility, accountability, statistics, and all  
16    the other trappings of bureaucracy?

17                                A     That would depend on  
18    whose perception one is likely to accept.

19                                Q     Well, take the native  
20    person's perception.

21                                A     Well, I would think that  
22    the average person's perception, the average native  
23    person's perception of what it is that we're looking  
24    for is relatively simple. You know, there is no  
25    doubt that we do get involved in long processes and  
26    difficulties but most of these are pretty well  
27    determined by either a lack of communication or a  
28    complete breakdown in communication.

29                                One of the things that we  
30    have found is that when there is satisfactory com-





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1       munication and the issues of accountability are  
2       laid out clearly, that native people have less problems  
3       in dealing with their accountability than white people  
4       do in the Northwest Territories.

5                               Q       But you didn't answer  
6       my question. Are the funds easily and readily available  
7       to them?

8                               A       I would say yes but,  
9       of course, I'm biased.

10                              Q       True enough.

11                              A       If I may, I'll explain  
12       the process. The process is that an application  
13       comes in and it's vetted by the staff in order that  
14       it may have all of the necessities in the application,  
15       so that it may go to the Alcohol and Drug Co-ordinating  
16       Council of the Northwest Territories, which is the  
17       Board of Directors or the group which in fact  
18       authorizes the grant.

19                              Money can be made available  
20       to a community within a three month period because  
21       the Alcohol and Drug Co-ordinating Council meets  
22       quarterly.

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Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q You're familiar, of  
course, with the Koe Go Cho Society in Fort Simpson.  
3 Could you tell us a bit about that program?

4 A The Ko Go Cho Society  
began a rather large project about two years ago  
encompassing treatment and rehabilitation. It's taken  
them up until just recently that length of time to  
get their project together so that they could open  
the doors of the treatment facility. Now they did  
10 open the doors for a short period of time and dis-  
covered they had some difficulties, some management  
difficulties, and they closed them down, closed the  
project down for a period of time and have now re-  
opened, to my knowledge.

11 Q Is there a close  
liaison with this society in Fort Simpson, the Northern  
Addiction Services in Yellowknife and your department?

13 A I'm not too aware of  
any close liaison between Koe Go Cho and Fort  
21 Simpson and Northern Addiction Services here, but  
there certainly is between both those projects and  
our department, yes.

23 Q They don't share their  
resources then, and perhaps advise other communities?

25 A Oh yes, I am aware of  
them sharing of resources, yes.

27 Q And do they supply advice  
and direction to other communities as requests come  
29 in?

A Yes, they have on occasion



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 done that, yes.

Q And your department  
3 would readily supply them with the funds to do so.

A That depends, you know,  
5 that depends. It depends on whether or not that  
7 item has in fact been budgeted within the project  
9 budget or not, and if it's sufficiently justified,  
11 we can, yes, supply funds to meet that need.

Q We talked about alcohol  
13 as a problem but when alcohol is not available or  
15 even when it is, the problem appears to be worsened  
17 since many of the people up north are on T.B. drugs,  
19 tranquilizers, antibiotics of some kind or another,  
21 on an ongoing basis. Did you consider in your deaths  
23 due to violence and this kind of thing that perhaps  
25 a combination of these drugs would produce the anti-  
27 social behaviour? Is there any method of following up  
29 the person on medication so that perhaps his liquor  
31 intake is less, or he's cautioned that tranquilizers  
33 and booze don't mix?

A We're not aware of the  
35 statistical evidence largely because to my knowledge  
37 it's rather rare that blood samples are taken. I'm  
39 not aware of any studies in this area at all, but  
41 certainly that quite possibly is true, that you do  
43 have an increased effect, an increased liability,  
45 if you are taking prescription drugs and using  
47 alcohol.

Q There are other problems  
49 associated with alcoholism in the Territories in that



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

people who become intoxicated and don't find their way home readily often freeze to death, or fires are caused; and I understand that the Fire Departments in the communities aren't that great. So in -- so are these deaths associated with fire and drowning and frost-bite also included as part of your concern about the alcohol problem in the Territories?

A They are included as part of my concern. They are not included in the submission.

Q Do you have a close liaison with Northern Health?

A Yes.

Q And are you co-operating to perhaps with Northern Health, the R.C.M.P. and corrections and communities in order to alleviate this problem?

A Yes. Dr. Abbott, by way of information, Dr. Abbott sits on the Alcohol & Drug Co-Ordinating Council as a full member and on several occasions has acted in the capacity of vice-chairman.

Q At the community level or the worker level, are your social workers in close contact with the nursing stations and the police in the communities, and the native organizations in the communities, are you working sort of together?

A I can't speak directly to that. I can only comment on it by saying that it





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

is my experience that that is in fact taking place,  
yes.

Q Would you like to comment  
on that, Mr. Raddi, from your experience in Inuvik?

WITNESS RADDI: What was  
your question?

Q In Inuvik, are the  
local health, the nurses, the social workers, the  
R.C.M.P. and the native people, working very  
closely to combine their efforts to alleviate the  
alcohol problem there?

A Gee, I don't believe  
they are because I don't see them doing anything  
about it. If they do, they do it behind closed doors.  
I'm not aware that they're working together at all.

Q And would you know  
about the other communities in the Inuvik region,  
whether it's the same there as it is in Inuvik?

A Well, down -- I go to  
Tuk quite often, the R.C.M.P., the nursing station,  
and doctors go there once in a while and I know the  
nurses are very much concerned about alcoholism in  
Tuk but can't do anything about it, working with the  
social worker in Tuk. The social worker, she's an  
Eskimo girl from Tuk herself, and they seem to work  
very close together with the nurses down there. The  
R.C.M.P., I don't know, I don't know the R.C.M.P. that  
well in Tuk.

Q Mr. Bruce, what alcohol  
programs are sponsored and administered by your



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

department, like what does your department do?

WITNESS BRUCE: I'm not sure I understand the question. Are you asking what projects are in fact supported by, you know, the alcohol grants programs?

Q Initiated and supported by your department. I understand your department also looks after the entire Northwest Territories. I'm interested in how many staff, support staff you have in the communities, this kind of thing.

A Essentially we rely on sort of a community development approach and we are now supporting some 13 or 14 projects throughout the Territories, depending on the state of the communication system. For instance, in this last fiscal period we had 15 applications for projects throughout the Territories. Some of the projects take the nature of very simplistic kinds of responses and some of them are very esoteric such as Northern Addiction Services here in this community. The Koe Go Cho Society, which is a very large type project, which encompasses treatment and rehabilitation, the Juvenile Crisis Aid Centre in Fort Smith, the Peel River Drop In Centre in Fort McPherson, Grise Fiord Alcohol Education Committee in Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay Alcohol Information Centre, and the list goes on. An interesting one would be the Fort Good Hope project which is essentially a back-to-the-land type of program where we supply money from resources for them to move families in the community back out into the bush during the hunting periods of



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

the year, and that is, I am told, for instance this month 32 families are going out onto the land.

Now we rely largely on the co-operative efforts of the social worker in a given community and the native organizations or the community organizations which in fact develop the projects. That is the extent of our involvement.

Q Then your department merely processes the applications that have been initiated by the communities and supply the money, is that my understanding?

A That's a part, that's a subsequent part of the process. We are involved to a large degree in the generation of projects in terms of helping communities develop ideas and getting <sup>them</sup> down on a piece of paper in the form of an application..

Q And the number of staff involved in your department?

A Two.

Q Really?

A That's correct.

Q For the entire Northwest Territories?

A That's correct.

Q Is this adequate?

A Yes, it is; we believe very strongly that we should not build a large organization because we do not have all the answers and that's a liability that a lot of the southern provinces





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 have fallen into and consequently we have large  
2 treatment facilities costing many millions of dollars  
3 which in many cases are not appropriate, and our  
4 concern here is that projects should take the nature  
5 of the local community, its values, its culture  
6 and traditions, and not the way we would prefer to  
7 have it.

8 Q Do you often --

9 THE COMMISSIONER: If you  
10 build up a bureaucracy you wind up spending  
11 all your money on buildings for the bureaucrats and  
12 you won't have any money to send the people of Good  
13 Hope back to the land.

14 A Precisely.

15 MRS. MACQUARRIE: Q Do you  
16 prepare alcohol education publications and distribute  
17 literature?  
18  
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Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A We did do it at one  
2 time. That was a practice of three and four years  
3 ago. We have since run out of information and run  
4 out of all of our little pamphlets and stuff and  
5 we are not prepared to get into that business in the  
6 near future simply because most of the information  
7 ends up in the garbage can and most of it is  
8 irrelevant and most of it is in the English language  
9 which is inappropriate.

10 Q Then whose responsibility  
11 would the alcohol education be as outlined by Mr.  
12 Raddi a few minutes ago?

13 A Well, there is a dual  
14 responsibility, it appears to me. There is a  
15 community responsibility or parental responsibility  
16 and there is also a school responsibility and where  
17 one starts and one ends, I'm really not too sure.  
18 Our position is that we would like to have communities  
19 develop their own materials from which we may be  
20 helpful in reproducing them for distribution.

21 Q Okay.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: You think  
23 that people cranking out literature in Ottawa and  
24 Yellowknife isn't well received or even read in the  
25 north?

26 A That's correct.

27 MRS. MACQUARRIE: When a  
28 request comes to your office for the community for  
29 alcohol information, how is this dealt with or  
30 information on how to deal with their alcohol problem?



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

How does your office respond?

A Well, depending on the nature of the request, we generally seek the information from the direction it comes, so to speak. If people want specific pamphlets, we will make the attempt to find them for them. If they are just seeking information generally, we generally feed back information to them from our office so that they may translate it in their own language and have encouraged many--not many, several projects to do this and they have, in fact, created some literature.

Q Supposing the request came for an alcohol workshop, how would you respond?

A Generally, very favorable.

Q Yes, but in what way?

A Generally with dollar resources. In many cases with dollar resources and in some cases, with human resources or expertise.

Q The two government staff people in charge of the alcohol program are white, are they not?

A That's correct.

Q There are no native staff employed?

A That's correct.

Q Is it necessary to have government native alcohol advisors to the white advisors?

A I believe so.



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q Is there any indication  
2 that this may come about?

3 A It is, in fact,  
4 happening right now. You know, the organizations  
5 throughout the Northwest Territories that we have  
6 funded are in fact acting as our advisors.

7 Q I see. In the provinces  
8 many native reserves have very well prepared  
9 native alcohol counsellors, do you sometimes or have  
10 these people come to the Northwest Territories to  
11 advise the communities that are seeking help to get  
12 started?

13 A Yes, this has happened  
14 in the past year in two instances. One in Fort  
15 Simpson with the Koe Go Cho society and this past  
16 summer with the Fort McPherson group, the Fort  
17 McPherson drop-in facility.

18 Q Do you meet or co-operate  
19 at all with the native alcohol counsellors in Alberta?

20 A We have, yes.

21 Q Has it been successful  
22 or were these only isolated little meetings?

23 A Well, most of our  
24 contact with the native alcohol counselling group  
25 has been getting them as resource people up here for  
26 local people who need some training, for instance,  
27 or are looking for some specific expertise to handle  
28 a particular situation.

29 Q I meant, Don, in regard  
30 to perhaps those resource people advising the govern-





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 ment how to look after the native alcohol problem in  
2 the Territories, rather than as just sending them  
3 directly to the community.

4 A I'm not sure I understand  
5 your question.

6 Q You collaborate with  
7 the native alcohol experts in the south in devising  
8 policy for the Northwest Territories?

9 A No. Not necessarily.

10 Q I don't understand  
11 your answer.

12 A Well, you know, it  
13 depends on whether a particular idea is suitable to  
14 the environment in the Northwest Territories. If  
15 it is, fine. If it isn't, we say so.

16 Q I was thinking in  
17 terms of many of the native alcohol experts in  
18 Alberta are being invited by other countries,  
19 Australia and the United States to help their  
20 aboriginal people deal with their alcohol problem.  
21 That was the context in which I asked the question.  
22 I just wondered if the Northwest Territories was  
23 using these native Canadian resources to advise?

24 A I did answer to that  
25 effect earlier on when I indicated that resources  
26 have come up to Fort McPherson and to Koe Go Cho  
27 in Fort Simpson.

28 Q Yes, but just to these  
29 communities. People aren't advising the government  
30 as such regarding the policy towards aboriginal people



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 in the Territories?

2  
3 A I'm not aware of that,  
4 no.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse  
6 me, Mrs. MacQuarrie, I've got to take an urgent  
7 phone call. So, we'll stretch our legs for five  
8 minutes and Mr. Roland, you might confer with counsel  
9 and see what the program is for the rest of the day.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

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Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. ROLAND: Can we get started, please? Mrs. MacQuarrie, I understand you have a couple more questions.

MRS. MACQUARRIE: Yes, I do have. I understand that Mr. Bruce wants to comment on the previous question.

WITNESS BRUCE: Sir, that question was in reference to Original Peoples' role in advising the government as to programming, etc. policy. I'd just like to point out that -- and perhaps I haven't been too clear -- that the Alcohol & Drug Co-Ordinating Council is in fact a lay Board. It comprises membership from each of the major native organizations in the Northwest Territories, plus two members from the Territorial Youth Council, and one member from each of the federal programs, which is two, of which I act in the capacity as executive secretary. The kind of policy that's suggested to the Territorial Government comes from the Alcohol & Drug Co-Ordinating Council to the Territorial Government, and original peoples who are in fact members of this Council do in fact have a key role to play.

Q Mr. Bruce, I wondered about the process of selection of these members of the Alcohol Co-Ordinating Council. Are they knowledgeable of the problems of the alcoholic and are they familiar? I've often heard the term that "It takes an alcoholic to know an alcoholic."





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1                   A     The membership is  
2 determined by nomination from each of the organizations  
3 concerned.     Whether or not they bring to the  
4 Co-Ordinating Council the specific knowledge that  
5 you're referring to, sometimes is the case and some-  
6 times is not the case.     The point is that     collec-  
7 tively as a body with input from resource people,  
8 they can make a judgment and they can in fact make  
9 appropriate suggestions.

10                   Q     Then perhaps you could  
11 clear this up for me.     The only alcohol programs that  
12 are in operation in the Northwest Territories are  
13 those initiated by the communities themselves, and  
14 funded through your department.     Then is your  
15 department solely, their sole function is to merely  
16 process applications and supply funding?

17                   A     No.     That is not  
18 entirely correct.     There are other programs function-  
19 ing, for instance the policy, you know the Northwest  
20 Territories Government policy with respect to its  
21 employees, I would refer to as a program.     We do  
22 have other functions and one is to act in an advisory  
23 capacity or consulting capacity to the administration  
24 of the Territorial Government, to the executive of  
25 the Territorial Government, plus a number of other  
26 related duties.

27                   Q     The only programs in  
28 the field of alcoholism then are the ones that are  
29 actually initiated by the communities and carried  
30 out by the communities?



Raddi, Bruce  
C ross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A That is largely correct,  
2 yes.

3 Q Dr. Brody in his paper  
4 to this Commission stated that there are no native  
5 alcoholics, that the native pattern of drinking is  
6 different. Have you read his paper? Could you comment  
7 on that statement?

8 A Yes, I have and I  
9 don't recall seeing that statement as explicit as  
10 that.

11 Q It was in the transcript,  
12 I believe.

13 A It was in the  
14 transcript, I'm not aware of that statement at all.

15 THE COMMISSIONER : He said  
16 that their drinking is spreadrinking, not solitary  
17 drinking, that it is a form of socializing and not  
18 a form of escape. Now I don't think that's the whole  
19 of his thesis by any means, but he emphasized that.  
20 Isn't that about it, Mrs. MacQuarrie?

21 MRS. MACQUARRIE: Yes.

22 A Yes, I would agree with  
23 that.

24 Q The programs in alcoholism  
25 in the Territories appear to be directed primarily  
26 to the alcoholic himself. Are there programs directed  
27 to the family of the alcoholic, other than Alcoholics  
28 Anonymous, and Al-Anon and this kind of thing? Does  
29 Social Development provide counselling for the families  
30 of the alcoholic?



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

2 A As part of the process  
3 involved in obtaining a grant, through the Alcohol  
4 Grants program, nearly all of the projects you know,  
5 that have received grants to date are supplying those  
6 kinds of services. The Department of Social Develop-  
7 ment as an arm of government with the professional  
8 social workers are in fact supplying family type  
9 services, or that is ostensibly what they are there  
10 to do, yes.

11 Q Do you see the possible  
12 proliferation of these services merely acting as more  
13 crutches for people to lean on?

14 A I didn't hear the last  
15 part of the question. Would you repeat it, please?

16 Q Do you see the possible  
17 proliferation of social services merely providing more  
18 crutches for people to lean on? That without them  
19 they would get their own act together and be more  
20 self-sufficient and responsible for their behaviour?

21 A Yes and no. Yes, pro-  
22 liferation of services is a fact of bureaucracy, and  
23 this part of the world or this part of this country  
24 called Canada is no different than the south. I would  
25 foresee a fairly large proliferation of the services  
26 that you're referring to. The type of service is  
27 really important. If the service is, in your words,  
28 a crutch type service, it's not going to be helpful  
29 at all. If it is the kind of service in the area  
30 of community development such as the kind of community  
31 development that the Indian Brotherhood has been



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

involved in, over the past number of years and COPE and the Inuit Association, then that's far healthier, in my view, as a service to help people, in the vernacular, get their stuff together. A poor choice of words.

Q Do you agree with Mr. Raddi that it's too late for prohibition?

A No, I do not.

Q Could you comment?

THE COMMISSIONER: Prohibition throughout the Territories as opposed to local option. Mr. Raddi agreed with local option.

A Yes. Put in that vein, I would agree, yes. In other words, I would prefer to have local option than to have prohibition. Prohibition may be workable, considering the kind of communication or transportation system that we have and what have you, but I think it's not necessarily the appropriate way to go.

MRS. MACQUARRIE: Q With the possible construction in the Mackenzie Valley, there would likely be a further dislocation of families from their communities and more wages and jobs. Do you see this as possibly increasing the problem of alcoholism?

A Very definitely, I do not think that dislocation is probably not the appropriate term. I think an overrunning in the community, by people coming from the south in the area of service industry for instance, would in fact





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie  
C ross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 be detrimental to the community and therefore to  
4 the families, as opposed to dislocation.

6 Q Would you support  
4 total prohibition in the Northwest Territories during  
5 the construction period? At least in the Mackenzie  
6 region.

7 A Only if the people  
8 wanted it and voted on it, under the local option  
9 clause, yes.

10 Q Could you see it as  
11 being desirable?

12 A Yes, under those kinds  
13 of conditions.

14 MRS. MACQUARRIE: Those are  
15 all the questions I have, thank you.

16 MR. ROLAND: Mr. Hollingworth?

17  
18 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

19 Q Mr. Raddi, it's Allan  
20 Hollingworth, I represent Foothills Pipe Lines.  
21 You stated in your evidence that drinking was probably  
22 more a problem in towns that have wage employment, is  
23 that correct? On the delta.

24 WITNESS RADDI: Drinking is  
25 caused with more money-making, it doesn't matter if  
26 it's half-way employment, as long as the people are  
27 making money, when there is cash around they tend to  
28 spend more of their money on alcohol than anything,  
29 like on charter planes, all to obtain the booze.

30 Q The problem towns would  
be Inuvik, Tuk and Aklavik, as you understand it, is that right?



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A Right, where there's  
4 more employment, where there's more money in the  
7 settlements.

8 Q I'm sorry. I'm having  
5 some difficulty hearing you.

6 A Yes, I said where there's  
7 more money made in a settlement, there's more booze  
8 and there's more money spent on booze than they spend  
9 money on their homes.

10 Also, these other settlements  
11 that are indirectly involved like Sachs Harbour and Paulatuk  
12 and Holman and they will be faced with higher costs  
13 on living. Like these people have to buy their  
14 food from Inuvik and their food gets higher as there  
15 is more cash going around these other  
16 communities.

17 Q Well, isn't it also  
18 true that the towns presently have more of a drinking  
19 problem are the ones that are accessible for at  
20 least part of the year from Inuvik and Inuvik itself?

21 A Any settlement that  
22 can get to Inuvik where the liquor outlet is, they  
23 all are having a problem with booze.

24 Q So, it's really the  
25 availability of the liquor supply in Inuvik that's  
26 the large part of the problem?

27 A Well, I think it's  
28 still cash. It doesn't matter where the liquor store  
29 is. If they have to get the liquor from Edmonton,  
30 they will get it from there as long as they have the



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 money to fly a plane to Edmonton.

2 Q Yes, but it's obviously  
3 cheaper to get the liquor by taxi from Inuvik to  
4 Tuk than it is to fly it from Inuvik to Sachs, for  
5 instance.

6 A If the cab drivers bring  
7 a case of booze to, for example, say Tuk, it's a lot  
8 easier to buy it from bootlegger than to charter a  
9 plane to Inuvik.

10 Q I'm sorry. I didn't  
11 understand your answer. I'm having great difficulty  
12 hearing you.

13 A Okay.

14 Q Could you repeat your  
15 answer please.

16 A I said if a taxi driver  
17 brings a case of liquor, for example, to Tuk, it's  
18 easier for the people of Tuk to buy it from a  
19 cab driver, from the bootlegger, than it is for them  
20 to charter a plane to Inuvik because the booze is  
21 bought right there.

22 Q Yes. Mr. Bruce, if we  
23 could just have some clarifications. You might turn  
24 to page thirteen of your evidence. You state there  
25 that the intended pipeline would have a negative  
26 effect if sufficient protections were not available.  
27 Can you expand on what you mean by sufficient pro-  
28 tection?

WITNESS BRUCE:

29 A Essentially I was  
30 referring to the following points in paragraph two,





Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

three, four and five.

Q All right. Well, then that brings me to my next question. What would be an ethical response in your view by the Government of Canada?

A That is a question that personally I am plagued with. It seems to me that the conditions under which native people in the Mackenzie Valley find themselves and throughout the Northwest Territories and for that matter, Canada, are more than inferior in nature, in relation to the rest of Canadians.

We have a responsibility as Canadians to assure that these people are sufficiently compensated for the kinds of resources or the land or whatever the case may be in fair terms. That's what I mean by an ethical response.

Q All right. Now, in the third suggestion you suggest that the major contractors act responsibly and with good faith in handling behavioural problems. I notice you left out the labour unions. Was there any reason for doing that?

A It was an omission.

Q Would you include that?

A I would include the labour unions, yes.

Q They are, in fact, working hand in hand with management, as I understand it, on the Alyeska project in an outfit called Almea



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

Inc. to try and alleviate problems of alcoholism among the pipeline workers. Is that right?

A It was my understanding that that was part of the proposal, yes. Whether in fact it has been carried through remains in question.

Q You talk about an understanding from Alaska. Where did your understanding come from?

A From many of the documents that I've read from both the Alaska Government and some of the documents that have been presented in this Inquiry.

Q From any personal interviews?

A One, yes.

Q With whom?

A With one of the social workers who was, in fact, over in Alaska.

Q Who is that social worker?

A She's sitting right here.

Q Gail Noble.

A Gail Noble, correct.

Q All right. Further down on page fourteen in the last paragraph, you speak of major unplanned development. Could you expand upon that?

A Again I'm referring back to my previous points that behavioural problems do not



Raddi, Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

by accident resolve themselves and that behavioural problem planning is part of the planning process and it must be addressed now as opposed to addressing it after the fact.

Q So, you are making a plea for social planning in advance of any project and that's what you mean? When you talk about major unplanned development, it would be a development in the absence of such planning?

A That's correct.

Q Restricted solely to that area for the purposes of your definition?

A For the purposes of this, yes. Okay, thank you very much. Those are all my questions.

MR. ROLAND: Mr. Steeves?

MR. STEEVES: I've spoken to my friend. I understand there's a witness here from Princeton, New Jersey. I have some questions of one member of the panel, Mr. Bruce, who I understand is in Yellowknife and will be made available by my learned friend if that's not inconvenient to the witness. I have no questions sir. I may have some questions next week.

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Bruce will be available next week but probably not thereafter.

MR. ROLAND: Well, if that's the arrangement that you're satisfied with sir, we'll proceed on to the next witness. I have no questions to this panel.



Raddi, Bruce

1 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.

2 Any re-examination?

3 MR. BAYLY: No re-examination,  
4 sir.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, Mr.  
6 Raddi, thank you very much for coming. We appreciate  
7 seeing you again and hearing your views on this most  
8 important problem and Mr. Bruce, we appreciate your  
9 evidence and your being as forthright as you have  
10 been about the work that you have observed and the  
11 work that you have headed yourself and if we are  
12 going to see you again next week, well so much the  
13 better.

14 WITNESS RADDI: Thank you.

15 WITNESS BRUCE: Thank you.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thank  
17 you both and we'll just take a sixty second break and  
18 Mr. Bell, you can assemble your next panel.

19 (QUESTIONS POSED TO SAM RADDI ON BEHALF OF COPE MARKED  
20 EXHIBIT 781)

21 (QUALIFICATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF DONALD BRUCE MARKED  
22 EXHIBIT 782)

23 (FINAL REPORT - COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO NON-MEDICAL  
24 USE OF DRUGS MARKED EXHIBIT 783)

25 (ALCOHOL PROBLEMS IN CANADA - HEALTH AND WELFARE MARKED  
26 EXHIBIT 784)

27 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

28 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)





(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Shall we take our places?

MR. BELL: Well, sir, I'd like to introduce Professor Richard Falk. He conceptually fits into our first panel but through various accidents of history, he's had to delay his appearance until today.

The document which I've left with you, sir, and distributed to counsel, is an opinion which was prepared for us by Mr. Ian Brownlie, and it was distributed to counsel for the purpose of giving notice of the issues that Professor Falk will address. We don't propose to read the opinion into the record. Professor Falk would like to speak from his notes so I'll ask counsel to pay particular attention to what he has to say.

MR. ROLAND: Perhaps my friend could file the opinion.

MR. BELL: I intend to do that.

THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Brownlie prepared this?

MR. BELL: Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: Who is Mr. Ian Brownlie?

MR. BELL: Mr. Brownlie is a lawyer in England.

THE COMMISSIONER : A lawyer in England?



R.A. Falk  
In Chief

1 MR. BELL: Yes.

2 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.

3 MR. BELL: Well, perhaps I  
4 could turn to the qualifications of Professor Falk.

5  
6 RICHARD A. FALK, sworn:

7 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

8 Q You are at present  
9 the Albert G. Millbank Professor of International Law  
10 and practice at Princeton University.

11 A Yes.

12 Q You have a Bachelor of  
13 Science, a Bachelor of Laws, and a Doctor of  
14 Juridical Science.

15 A I do.

16 Q From 1955 to '61 you  
17 taught at the College of Law at Ohio State University.  
18 In 1956 you were admitted to the bar of New York,  
19 and from 1958 to 1959 you were a Ford Foundation  
20 Fellow at Harvard Law School.

21 A Yes.

22 Q From 1961 to 1962 you  
23 were visiting associate professor at Princeton  
24 University. From 1962 to '65 you were associate  
25 professor of international law at Princeton University,  
26 and it was in 1965 that you were appointed to your  
27 present position.

28 A That is correct.

29 Q Since then in 1968 and  
30 in 1969 you were a Fellow of the Centre for Advanced



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In Chief

1 Study in the behavioural sciences at Stanford Univer-  
2 sity, California.

3 A Yes.

4 Q In 1974 you were  
5 senior Fellow of the Institute for World Order in  
6 New York.

7 A Yes.

8 Q And in 1975 you were  
9 acting director of the Centre of International  
10 Studies at Princeton University.

11 A That's correct.

12 Q Perhaps I could ask you  
13 briefly to review some of your other experience  
14 which you feel is relevant to the subject you're  
15 going to address today.

16 A Fine. I suppose that the  
17 most relevant experiences that I've had was to act as  
18 one of the counsel for Ethiopia and Liberia in a  
19 case that was argued in 1965 and 1966 in the  
20 International Court of Justice, and raised many of the  
21 issues that are contained in this Inquiry, it dwelled  
22 on the proper responsibilities of South Africa in  
23 relation to the native populations of south-west  
24 Africa in particular and dealt with a mixture of  
25 questions arising under international law and under  
26 the mandate system.

27 The only other things that  
28 I would perhaps mention as being peculiarly relevant  
29 is that I have acted a number of times for such  
30 international organizations as the International





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In Chief

Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International to conduct enquiries into various issues of human rights, and so I had a long concern with the kinds of issues that I think are at the centre of the enquiry before this Commission.

Q Thank you. You are or were the holder <sup>of</sup> the positions listed in the curriculum vitae, pages 1 and 2.

A That is correct.

Q And you are the author or co-author of the publications listed in the curriculum vitae on pages 2 to 9.

A That is also correct.

Q Would you like to proceed now?

A Yes. Thank you very much. Let me say first of all that I feel privileged to be able to participate in this very important Inquiry and that will try to not duplicate what is the material that is contained in Professor Brownlie's memorandum on the international law issues, but I would be fully prepared to deal with any questions that might arise in connection with that memorandum.

What I would like to try to emphasize as briefly and clearly as I can is the relevance of international law to an understanding and a resolution of what I take to be the basic issues raised by the objections on the part of the native population, the Dene Indians in particular, to the proposed pipeline. I think to do this I would



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1 like to state at the outset in a very brief way my  
2 understanding of the Dene position, which will inform  
3 my statement on the relevance of international law  
4 to it. As I understand this position, it is fundam-  
5 entally an assertion that the construction of the  
6 pipeline would so encroach upon the fundamental  
7 values of the Dene culture as to impair it in a  
8 way that would make its very survival questionable  
9 and would certainly make it very difficult to sustain  
10 the kinds of values that are embodied in the Dene  
11 tradition.

12 Furthermore, that given this  
13 impact, that there are no ways to translate the  
14 perspective damage that the construction of a  
15 pipeline would cause into compensation in money terms,  
16 that the land and its organic link to a way of life  
17 is not a commodity that can be taken by paying a  
18 fair price, nor can the benefit be measured by  
19 such normal criteria of high technology development  
20 as the number of jobs created or the per capita  
21 income or even the economic growth of the Territories.  
22 In other words, that the application or the imposition  
23 of those kinds of development standards are completely  
24 unacceptable to the ways that the Dene people value  
25 land, tradition, and continuity.

26 Furthermore, that the Dene  
27 people are a nation within the State of Canada, and  
28 have the moral and legal right to insist upon their  
29 view of the proper mode of development for the  
30 land in question and I think this claim is of very



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1 fundamental importance. In other words, where as  
2 here there are two contrasting images of what  
3 development for a people means, then fundamental to  
4 its right of self-determination is the right to  
5 decide upon the image of development that is in  
6 conformity with the values of the culture.

7 Now it seems to me that  
8 this position does find very strong support in inter-  
9 national law as it has been evolving. The essence  
10 of the Dene position is a claim under the doctrine  
11 of the self-determination of people., and it raises,  
12 it seems to me, three kinds of basic questions:  
13 1. Whether self-determination is properly a legal  
14 norm as distinct from a moral or political one;  
15 2. If this is a legal norm, can it be invoked by  
16 the Dene people and applied to this kind of  
17 dispute;  
18 3. Is it appropriate for a Canadian institution to  
19 resort to international law in order to make an  
20 assessment of a conflict of this kind?

21 Now let me deal first with  
22 the status of self-determination, which I think is  
23 basically very basic to understanding and evaluating  
24 the claim of the Dene Indians, the Dene people.  
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26  
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I think it is correct that this notion of self-determination of people arose as a moral and political conception early in the twentieth century, that it was initially a moral aspiration that arose from questioning the kind of colonial domination that existed throughout much of the world and particularly that existed in Africa and Asia; that in the course of World War I, the American President at the time, Woodrow Wilson gave great international prominence to the idea of self-determination as part of the insistence that the United States was not willing to enter World War I just to participate in a redistribution of colonies and it was the idea of self-determination that gave an idealistic goal to World War I that it not only would defeat Germany and its allies, but it also would help people to control their own destinies and that the victorious powers, unlike the defeated powers, would help to create a better, more just world by promoting the idea of self-determination in the colonial world, particularly in the colonial world of the defeated countries in World War I.

So, what resulted after the victory in World War I was <sup>a</sup> compromise between the Wilsonian effort to promote self-determination and the victorious colonial powers, particularly England and France that were not very happy with the prospect of undermining their own position as leading imperial colonial powers in the world and so what happened was that a mandate system was created for many parts of





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1 Africa and particularly the Middle East.

2 Independence was promised  
3 as an eventual goal to the people, a so-called  
4 advance country, usually a colonial power or a country  
5 closely associated with a colonial power, administered  
6 the territory of these ex-colonies for the benefit  
7 of the dependent people as a sacred trust and the  
8 notion of sacred trust was a very important part of  
9 this shifting attitude towards the colonial system  
10 and then, furthermore, that this kind of administration  
11 of a dependent people included some accountability  
12 to the international community in that context to the  
13 League of Nations as an organization and that the  
14 administering power was not free to pursue its  
15 own policies if those policies were not consistent  
16 with the well-being of the people.

17 Now, I think it's fair to  
18 say that this system that emerged out of World War  
19 I and tried to establish the principle of self-  
20 determination was largely a matter of pious rhetoric  
21 that in actual operation, the world was still dominated  
22 by the colonial powers, that the well-being of the  
23 people was defined in terms of their interests and  
24 that the accountability to the international community  
25 was largely a matter of formal accountability that  
26 did not have very much substance.

27 This, I think, changed very  
28 fundamentally with the various developments that  
29 culminated in World War II and the consequences of  
30 World War II. Both the severe weakening of the



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1 remaining colonial powers in the world, the principal  
2 colonial powers of Europe and the emergence of both  
3 the Soviet Union and the United States as the most  
4 important actors in the world both committed to  
5 ending colonialism and both committed, at least in  
6 words, to the promotion of the self-determination  
7 of peoples.

8 So, what happened, I think,  
9 was the changed political circumstance that began  
10 to give real force to the moral principle and  
11 political claim of self-determination and was  
12 reinforced further by the armed struggles and  
13 independence movements that emerged throughout the  
14 colonial world.

15 So, I think that what happened  
16 in the years after World War II was for the notion  
17 of self-determination to acquire tremendous inter-  
18 national potency that accompanied the collapse of the  
19 colonial system. Now, it was with the collapse of  
20 the colonial system and the changed character of  
21 international society that the legal nature of the  
22 principle of self-determination became established  
23 because what happened was that the former colonies  
24 became very active participants in the international  
25 legal community within the United Nations and began  
26 to help create an international consensus that  
27 supported the idea that self-determination of people  
28 was a fundamental legal right that was unabridgeable;  
29 that underlay  
30 all other rights and that could not be  
altered.



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1 Now, it is often the case,  
2 I think, that the political success of a movement  
3 is then translated into legal doctrine and I think  
4 that is really what happened in this context but the  
5 context was very much concerned initially with  
6 external domination; that is with the colonial system  
7 as it was understood which applied to societies that  
8 were potential states and it was therefore, very  
9 confusingly described in terms of a doctrine that  
10 had to do with those national movements that were  
11 trying to achieve the kind of control over a total  
12 state that would lead them to be a new actor in the  
13 world.

14 I think that this historical  
15 fact of the struggle against the colonial system  
16 is very important because it confuses the two parts  
17 of the doctrine of self-determination and that is  
18 that there is in addition to this external role,  
19 that it has an internal role that applies in various  
20 contexts to dependent people that are a nation without  
21 being a state. It is in that context, it seems to  
22 me, that the claims of the Dene Indian has to be  
23 understood and it has to also, I think, be appreciated  
24 that all governments of big states have one or more  
25 problems with minorities within their own boundaries  
26 and they have often many nations and many nationalities.

27 Therefore, there have been  
28 some reluctance to extend the external struggle  
29 against colonialism to this internal situation. This  
30 reluctance has also been associated with the fact that





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1 many of the leaders of the new states in the third  
2 world have felt that they need to consolidate the  
3 gains of independence by building up strong states  
4 and that the effort to suggest that every nation is  
5 entitled to the protection of the principle of  
6 self-determination would ultimately lead to the  
7 dismemberment of large states and to the spread of se-  
8 cessionist movements and finally there has been some  
9 confusion that has arisen because in a very different  
10 circumstance of South Africa, the leadership there  
11 that has pursued policies and structures of racial  
12 discrimination has tried to insist upon a policy of  
13 separate national development as a way of avoiding  
14 giving control of the state to the African majority  
15 that lives within its boundaries.

16 So, in the context of  
17 South Africa, the notion of separate nations is a  
18 very reactionary notion with regard to the development  
19 of the ideas of self-determination as they involve  
20 giving control over human development to the people  
21 that actually live in a society.  
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So that I think that the principal conclusion that I would draw from this experience with the difficulty of extending self-determination to internal claims of nationhood and of human rights and of minority rights, is that each claim for self-determination has to be examined in relation to the basic values that are embodied in the doctrine, and that one can't make any kind of sweeping generalization that applies to all circumstances.

In that setting, it seems to me appropriate to say that the self-determination of people which is the phrase that is used in all the authoritative legal documents that exist, has to do with people that have a separate national identity, that they themselves experience and perceive and that is reinforced by such objective factors as an attachment to a particular part of the land, enduring tradition, and a distinct language and belief structure and myth, and that this separate form of national self-determination does not depend, for its validity, on the claim that the nation must seek to become a state.

Therefore it seems to me important to understand that claims for control over national development and for autonomy are to be appropriate to the circumstances of the dependent people. What is their circumstances? How much autonomy do they need in order to safeguard their cultural integrity? That seems to me to be the basic question that is applicable to applying the notions of self-



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determination internally to a society; and here, it seems to me, that the original impulse of the doctrine of self-determination, what led to its formation as a principle, has to do with a basic affirmation of respect for the inherent dignity of individuals and groups, and that fundamentally the internal application of the doctrine of self-determination is a human rights claim, a human rights claim that can draw on a number of legal sources each of which, it seems to me, has a considerable standing and persuasiveness.

One of these sources is the notion of aboriginal rights, according to property rights of native peoples arising from long-term occupation of particular lands, an unabridgable status, that is that there are rights founded in the very creation of any subsequent state that cannot be changed and the law -- the Vienne Convention on the law of treaties which I believe Canada is a party to, affirms the idea of what is called the international law, the doctrine of jus cogens that there are those rules in international law that are of such a fundamental character to the well-being of people that no subsequent relinquishment of those rights has any legal effect, that they take precedence over subsequent treaties and they take precedence over any kind of inconsistent legal claim.

I think that a claim as fundamental as the claim that one's cultural identity and survival is associated with a particular image of



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development, of human and group development, is a claim of the sort that is intended by the notion of what is called at the Vienna Convention peremptory norms that cannot be abridged.

This doctrine of, this internal doctrine of self-determination is also reinforced, it seems to me, by long traditions of protecting minority rights, traditions that have been reaffirmed in the universal declaration of human rights, and have been extended expressly to the right to enjoy, the right of peoples to enjoy their own culture in Article 27 of the International Convention on Civil & Political Rights.

In both of the fundamental international covenants on human rights there is stressed in Article 1 of the convention basic roles that self-determination plays, that all peoples have ~~the~~ right of self-determination, and by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic social and cultural development; and in Article 2, all peoples in provision 2 of Article 1, all peoples may for their own ends freely dispose of their natural resources and wealth without prejudice to any obligations arising elsewhere in international law.

Now what I would like to stress is that this controversy here implies both of those notions of self-determination extending to cultural identity and including the control over what happens to natural resources and economic





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development that occur within the relevant social contact, so that there is a recognition in these authoritative international legal documents that the kinds of claims that the Dene Indians are posing here are fundamental to any other protection of human rights, and it is only later in the document that the specific right to enjoy protection with respect to the pursuit of one's own culture is separately mentioned.

I would also mention that these covenants, although they are not embodied in valid international treaties that have been ratified by Canada, are viewed by international lawyers generally as stating customary international law, that is they are binding independent of the consent of a particular government and that this bindingness has been reinforced by the actions of the international community, particularly the General Assembly of the United Nations, which has on numerous occasions reinforced by unanimous resolution including in most instances with the affirmative vote of Canada, endorsement of the basic legal conceptions as applicable to the protection of human rights in the context of the contemporary world.

So that it seems to me, and the arguments are given more technical detail in the Brownlie memorandum, that there is a very powerful case for asserting the conclusion that contemporary international law provides a strong foundation for the kinds of claims that the Dene



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1 Indians are posing in this case, and I would add to  
2 this that the Genocide Convention asserts as a  
3 kind of minimal human right that has been universally  
4 endorsed, the basic prerogative of a distinct people  
5 to maintain their cultural identity. If it is correct  
6 -- and this is a factual question -- that the con-  
7 struction of this kind of pipeline is incompatible  
8 with the maintenance of the Dene culture, then it  
9 seems to me to be a case, an instance of genocide  
10 that is the extreme case of the denial of the doctrine  
11 of self-determination; the extreme denial is the  
12 extension of the identity of the very people that  
13 are claiming the rights of self-determination.  
14 In a sense then genocide should be thought of as  
15 nothing more than the extreme statement of the claim,  
16 not really necessary to sustain the claim, but  
17 nevertheless, if indeed the facts support the  
18 conclusion that cultural identity will be lost,  
19 then it certainly strengthens the more moderate  
20 efforts to apply the doctrine of self-determination  
21 to the circumstances of the case.



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1                   It is not necessary and  
2                   certainly I think no one would contend that those  
3                   who favor the pipeline, favor a policy of genocide  
4                   but it is also not the case that the consequences  
5                   of a set of actions can be divorced from whatever good  
6                   intentions may exist. Good intentions don't seem to  
7                   me to be relevant if one is primarily concerned with  
8                   the notion of sacred trust implicit in the idea  
9                   of self-determination.

10                   That is, that in situations  
11                   of doubt, interpretations are to be made favorable  
12                   to the dependent people and I believe that this is  
13                   an important aspect again of the discretion of those  
14                   who have the responsibility to decide these kinds  
15                   of cases that there is a consistent notion in  
16                   international law and in international procedures  
17                   that interpretation should presume the validity of  
18                   the dependent weaker people and that one doesn't  
19                   in that sense accept on a level of parity the  
20                   inconsistent claim of the effects of a particular  
21                   line of development.

22                   Nor does one superimpose  
23                   the development model of the dominant culture on the  
24                   development model of the subordinate culture. I think  
25                   that in that sense who has the burden of proof in  
26                   establishing the effects of something like the pipeline  
27                   in a case of this sort is a very critical issue and  
28                   that it does go to the whole idea of responsibility  
29                   and accountability of a government both to the  
30                   international community and to the dependent people,





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especially those who claim aboriginal rights within  
its own territory.

These lines of analysis and appreciation of the content of international law lead me to the following conclusion: I think that it would be an overstatement to suggest that international law compels the conclusion that self-determination of people in this context requires the Canadian Government not to build the pipeline, not to construct the pipeline.

I'm trying to suggest that would be an overstatement of the existing character of international law to say that it compels that conclusion because I think that any responsible observer of international law will be aware that it is vague enough and contradictory enough to support several different lines of construction as to what constitutes the well-being and what constitutes the good faith obligation of governments absent specific wrong doing.

At the same time, if one asks what I think is the more relevant question and that is should international law be extended to this kind of controversy to reach the conclusion that it would be inconsistent with the basic human rights of the Dene people and specifically the self-determination, their own right of national self-determination.

Then I think one can say very powerfully and persuasively that international law provides the grounds for supporting that claim



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1 / and that that claim  
2 is in conformity with the whole modern development  
3 of international law which has very much reinforced  
4 the doctrine of self-determination and extended it  
5 to new contexts and new settings.

6 In that sense, the structures  
7 of international society at the present time are not  
8 of such an order as to be able to force governments  
9 of sovereign states to apply these kinds of law. The  
10 prospect for a peaceful and just world really depends  
11 on the institutions of government being sensitive  
12 to these principles and taking their own responsibility  
13 for their enforcement and application. This is  
14 consistent with the general view of international  
15 lawyers and of international law that it is dependent  
16 for its development on the conscientious application  
17 of its rules by domestic institutions of government.

18 International lawyers, even  
19 of the most conservative sort, have no difficult  
20 perceiving this in the context of protecting foreign  
21 investment overseas. They have no difficulty in  
22 concluding that domestic institutions can play, "a  
23 creative role" in extending the application of doctrines  
24 of international law to the situation of a particular  
25 dispute and conflict .

26 Now, the question is in a  
27 more progressive setting of extending rights that  
28 are not those that are endorsed by the values of the  
29 dominant culture, whether domestic institutions will  
30 be able to respond to the challenge and be creative  
in terms of the goals of human rights law and I think



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1 this case is a very important example of that kind  
2 of challenge and opportunity and it's a particularly  
3 important example because I think one can say that  
4 the values that the Dene Indians are trying to assert  
5 are the values of a model of development that  
6 rests on the notion of sustaining renewable resources  
7 indefinitely.

8 It may even be that this  
9 model of development is one that can be usefully  
10 imitated and adapted to the circumstances of the  
11 dominant culture itself and therefore, one can argue  
12 that it is in the interest of Canada, as a whole,  
13 not just this particular community, not this particular  
14 nation, to allow other models of development the  
15 protection that is consistent, both with international  
16 law, with human rights and with the decencies of the  
17 situation.

18 Thank you.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you  
20 Professor.

21 MR. BELL: Professor Falk  
22 is now available for cross-examination.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes,  
24 before you do that, Mr. Brownlie who wrote this  
25 opinion that you've submitted, I notice that he is  
26 in London but is there any biographical material  
27 relating to him that you're in a position to file so  
28 that we have some idea of his standing in the pro-  
29 fession.

30 A I could, if you wish.



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1 He's a friend of mine and he is in addition to being  
2 a member of the bar in England, I believe he's a  
3 member of the Middle Temple, he's also a fellow  
4 of Wadern College at Oxford University and is  
5 the author of several well-known books in international  
6 law, including "International Law and the Use of  
7 Force by States," "Principles of Public International  
8 Law," and he's the editor of a volume called Basic  
9 Documents on Human Rights.

10 He is one of the leading  
11 international legal specialists in the English  
12 speaking world, I think it's fair to say.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Okay,  
14 thank you. Could I just ask you a few things that  
15 have occurred to me as you've been speaking, Professor  
16 Falk.

17 In Canada we have had  
18 experience going back even before Confederation with  
19 the whole question of the rights of people having  
20 a culture in common but being a minority in numbers.  
21 I refer to the French speaking people of this  
22 country.

23 Now, in the U. S. you haven't  
24 had a minority of that magnitude constituting one-  
25 third of your population but you have other minorities.  
26 In the United States, I want to come to the blacks  
27 in a moment, but in the United States, has the  
28 proposition that you've asserted, that you say  
29 applies to the Dene; has that proposition been  
30 acknowledged in the United States by the political





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1 authorities or by the Courts putting them in a  
2 separate category for the moment, as regards to the  
3 native Indian people of the United States?

4 (QUALIFICATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF R. FALK MARKED  
5 EXHIBIT 785)  
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1                                   A     Not so far as I know;  
2     there have been some reasonably authoritative  
3     statements made during the not so glorious presidential  
4     administration of Richard Nixon that did go a fair  
5     degree in recognizing that the new kind of assertion  
6     of nationhood, aboriginal rights, and human rights  
7     had to be reconsidered in a different international  
8     climate, that there was a difference that you  
9     couldn't regard what had happened to extinguish those  
10    rights, the voluntary renunciation of those rights  
11    as really binding on the Indian peoples in the  
12    contemporary circumstances and there has been an  
13    increasing effort with some success, by Indian  
14    representatives of various Indian people to persuade  
15    members of Congress to endorse the kind of position  
16    that underlies the sort of claim that the Dene people  
17    are making here.

18                                   But as far as I know, no  
19    Court has fully accepted this kind of argument, though  
20    several have said -- have obviously been torn by a  
21    tension which on the one side said they really should  
22    accept it rather clearly, there's a recent important  
23    case involving the Sioux Indians, but that it is not  
24    within their capacity as a municipal Court to do that  
25    since the authoritative law that has been accumulated  
26    by so many Congressional enactments over the years.  
27    Ofcourse in the United States, as I suspect in Canada,  
28    there is a great anxiety about once establishing a  
29    precedent of this kind, because it can be generalized  
30    to a number of other settings, and I think that what



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1 I would probably emphasize is that this -- that the  
2 law in this area within the United States is presently  
3 undergoing a lot of ferment, and that that ferment  
4 is partly a consequence of changes in the international  
5 status of the self-determination notion and as a result  
6 of the increased militancy and clarity of the repre-  
7 sentatives of the native peoples themselves.

8 Q We had a panel of  
9 witnesses here a couple of months ago that Mr. Bell  
10 presented on the subject of education. One of the  
11 members of that panel was a woman from Red Rock --

12 A Rough Rock.

13 Q -- Rough Rock. At any  
14 rate, Mrs. Elizabeth Yazzie, I think, was her name.  
15 She referred to a recent Act of Congress in which  
16 the preamble, if that's what you call it, recited  
17 the necessity for the schooling of their children  
18 to be turned over to native peoples throughout the  
19 United States. Now, that principle has been, I think,  
20 accepted in some jurisdictions in Canada. In the  
21 Province of Quebec a School District has been  
22 established, I think, for the Cree or the Inuit  
23 people or both, and I think in British Columbia  
24 the principle has been accepted in relation to the  
25 Niska people of the north.

26 But I was surprised to see  
27 the Congress of the United States had gone this far  
28 in acknowledging the autonomy of those people in  
29 relation to the schooling of their own children.  
30 That, I think, was a Statute only passed a year or





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1       ago, to my recollection. Do you know what the  
2       history of that enactment has been since that time?

3                       A       No, I do not, sir, but  
4       one thing that I think might supplement what you've  
5       just said, is that a similar commitment to the  
6       Indian peoples is contained in that declaration of  
7       federal policy that President Nixon made in, I believe,  
8       1969, and it really was an attempt to say, "There's  
9       going to be a new federal policy on questions of this  
10      sort, and a starting point of that new federal  
11      policy is a recognition of cultural identity and  
12      all that goes with it." A commitment, in other  
13      words, by the government not to impose its dominant  
14      culture on the education and on the life circumstances  
15      of the Indian people, and that was partly a response  
16      to a lot of militancy that was occurring -- the  
17      Wounded Knee demonstrations were very much part of  
18      the context in which there was a renewal -- there was  
19      an attempt to state a more acceptable federal policy  
20      and that is consistent with, I think, the way these  
21      things change, that/<sup>it</sup>is a mixture of political action  
22      and official -- the interaction between the militancy  
23      of those who are affected by the old policies and the  
24      response of the official institutions that are  
25      responsible for evolving the new policies.

26                      Q       Well, in the United  
27      States, as in Canada, native people presumably have  
28      made it plain that they wish to determine for themselves  
29      what is going to happen in matters that are vital to  
30      themselves for purposes of preserving and enhancing



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1 their culture, using "culture" in the broadest  
2 sense. Now, in Canada our constitution acknowledges that  
3 the French-speaking people as a Province of  
4 Quebec have a very large measure of self-determination  
5 in those areas. The native people are asserting  
6 similar contentions.

7 In the United States, have the black people  
8 been seeking that, or have they rather been seeking  
9 the right to assimilate on equal terms? Their  
10 homeland being far away, <sup>and</sup> presumably their culture  
11 in many respects has been lost. Would you comment on  
12 that?

13 A Yes, surely. I think  
14 that there is a great division of attitude among  
15 black leadership in the United States in just this  
16 kind of question, that there has been particularly  
17 I think in the 1960s, a feeling of black  
18 separatists, what was called black separatism, that  
19 was rather strong and formidable, and a much closer  
20 identification of the cultural values of black  
21 people with their African heritage. My impression  
22 is that that kind of movement, though it still  
23 exists, is somewhat less significant within the  
24 black community at the present time, and that there  
25 is something of a compromise between the pursuit  
26 of access to the dominant culture, assimilationist  
27 strategy of improving their position, and a separatist  
28 view that they have to have their own territory  
29 and space in order to exercise self-determination.  
30 You see, I think that the situation of the black people



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1 is very different than my understanding of the situation  
2 of American Indians because they really have been  
3 cut off sufficiently from their ethnic and cultural  
4 heritage that it is extremely difficult and artificial  
5 to try to fabricate that kind of heritage in the  
6 context of American society. They haven't kept to the  
7 same place with the same traditions over a sufficient  
8 length of time with similar language and myth, a  
9 mythic unity.

10 Q That would approximate  
11 what you described earlier as cultural genocide.  
12 Would that be fair?

13 A Yes, and I think one  
14 can make a very plausible case of what the black  
15 communities in America have experienced is the  
16 problems of adjusting to the aftermath of cultural  
17 genocide, and then of course, the options are  
18 different because you can't recreate --and that's one  
19 of the reasons that I suppose one could say in this  
20 kind of case you have to give the benefit of the  
21 doubt to the dependent claimant of a cultural tradi-  
22 tion because you can't reverse it. It's an irreversible  
23 process and once that culture and tradition are  
24 destroyed, once a people are separated from their  
25 land and traditions, it's impossible, it seems to me,  
26 to go back and then re-establish it.

27 Q What about in Israel,  
28 they have a minority of Arab people? Now, true they  
29 are an embattled state, so I suppose that whatever  
30 their constitution says, they may not have carried it



R.A. Falk  
In Chief

1                   have  
2 out, but       they acknowledged the principle that the  
3 Arab people within the State of Israel are entitled  
4 to school their own children, to educate their own  
5 children, to a measure of autonomy and things vital  
6 to their cultural survival, would you comment on  
7 that?

8                   A   Yes.  I would forewarn  
9 you that I don't feel very much competent to comment  
10 very fully, but that won't deter me from saying  
11 something.  I know that there is an acceptance of  
12 the responsibility by the Israeli Government to  
13 the Arab minority that includes a commitment to  
14 maintain its language, culture and traditions.  At  
15 the same time, of course, that collides with the basic  
16 claim of the Arab people, and particularly the  
17 Palestinians, those who identify themselves as  
18 Palestinians with a much more traditional form of  
19 self-determination.  That is the form which seeks to  
20 become a state, and in that sense the international  
21 community has for better or worse endorsed the  
22 validity of the claim of the Palestinians to have a  
23 state of their own in order to satisfy the demands  
24 of the principle of self-determination.  So in that  
25 setting the Israeli Government wants it to be  
26 treated as a human rights question, or a civil  
27 liberties question, and the supporters of the  
28 Palestinian people want it to be treated as a  
29 conventional self-determination of peoples requiring  
30 the creation of a state.

Q       Yes.





R.A. Falk  
In Chief

1                   A     It's a very special  
2 circumstance, I think.

3                   THE COMMISSIONER:

4                   Yes, and a conflict  
5 that doesn't really arise in the case of the Dene  
6 and the Inuit. Well, I should apologize, I have a  
7 bad cold and I was hoping to get a plane this  
8 afternoon so I could go home for a few days, but  
9 I'm told the plane won't be here till five o'clock,  
10 so what I would suggest is that if it's all right  
11 with you people, that we might stop for lunch and  
12 then come back because I would like to chat with  
13 Professor Falk a little longer, if I might.

14                  MR. ROLAND: Yes sir, and  
15 with respect to Mr. Bruce, I think we can finish  
16 him off this afternoon as well.

17                  THE COMMISSIONER: Finish  
18 him off, all right.

19                  MR. ROLAND: Mr. Bayly tells  
20 me that he will be back this afternoon.

21                  THE COMMISSIONER: Would that  
22 be all right? I know we expected not to come back  
23 this afternoon. Is that all right with you, Mr.  
24 Sigler?

25                  Well, let's adjourn say till  
26 two o'clock or thereabouts, and we'll carry on.

27                  (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)  
28  
29  
30



R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Okay,  
shall we come to order, ladies and gentlemen. If  
counsel have any questions for Professor Falk they  
might wish to go ahead now and I'll save my questions  
for later.

MR. ROLAND: Mr. Hollingworth?

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: No  
questions.

MR. ZISKROUT: No questions.  
MR. ROLAND: I don't see

Mr. Bayly. Mrs. MacQuarrie?

MRS. MACQUARRIE: No questions.

MR. ROLAND: All right.  
Well, I have one short question. Oh, sorry. Mr.  
Sigler?

MR. SIGLER: No questions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ROLAND:

MR. ROLAND: As I understand  
you sir, the notion of self-determination of a nation  
within a state is that it would surrender certain  
elements of self-determination to the state.

A No, I don't think that  
would be the way I would put it anyway. It's rather  
that the character of self-determination would have  
to be adjusted to the particular circumstances of the  
claim and that self-determination is the appropriate  
degree of autonomy necessary to realize fundamental  
human rights.

For some circumstances, that  
means having a state apparatus. In other circumstances,



R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1 such as the ones that I think pertain to this  
2 situation, it merely means having an assured protection  
3 of the basic choice of development, the image of  
4 development that is implicit in the culture.

5 Q Well, I take it then  
6 that that means that it could surrender what might  
7 otherwise be considered elements of self-determination  
8 or notions of self-determination save those that  
9 are what you call peremptory norms.

10 A If you'll forgive me  
11 sir, it's not that they surrender elements of self-  
12 determination. They don't possess full sovereignty,  
13 /it's sovereignty  
14 that isn't completely present in a nation that isn't  
15 a state.

15 Q Sovereignty is the  
16 ultimate notion of self-determination, isn't it?

17 A No. I think there's  
18 a great deal of confusion in the discussion of this  
19 kind of issue and that confusion, as I tried to  
20 explain, arises because so much of the discussion of  
21 self-determination has had to do with anti-colonial  
22 issues in recent years. But the doctrine of self-  
23 determination is a broader doctrine than that and  
24 doesn't necessarily connect with claims to be a state.

25 In its origins in international  
26 law in the 16th and 17th century it really was a  
27 human rights doctrine that limited the power of  
28 conquering countries with respect to native populations  
29 and the birth of aboriginal rights, for instance, is  
30 really prior to the ideas, the contemporary ideas, that





R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

self-determination has to do with becoming a state and if you look, for instance, at one of the most recent efforts by the United Nations to formulate the concept of self-determination is in the declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states and there they have a principle of equal rights and self-determinations of peoples and in explaining that self-determination of peoples, they are careful to say that that self-determination of peoples should be realized to the extent possible within the structure of existing states, without dismembering states.

So, really the central point I was trying to make is that the realization of the principle of self-determination is not to be confused with the pursuit of state sovereignty and that it is to be adjusted to the circumstances of the particular claim and here the particular claim is of a character that accepts the existence of the state has no contention that its nationhood, that the Dene nationhood, requires it to secede from the Canadian state, the state of Canada.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, in Canada some of the difficulty arises from the use of the word nation; a word that was used by French speaking Canadians in the '60's and was thought to have different meanings in French and English and in English it connoted, I think it still does to many people, the idea of a state, a political entity, a member of the international community of states.



R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1                                   What you're dealing with  
2       here is what you've conceived to be the right which  
3       has not yet ripened into a principle of international  
4       law but you feel it will one of these days, the  
5       right of distinct peoples sharing certain cultural  
6       values, locked within a nation state to insist upon  
7       that measure of autonomy that will ensure the survival  
8       and enhancement of their culture.

9                                   A     Yes.

10                                  Q     But that word nation--  
11       I only say this for the purposes of our discussion  
12       here. I'm not reflecting anyone's right to use the  
13       word but for purposes of this discussion of  
14       international jurisprudence, it's a word that can  
15       lead us into some misunderstandings.

16                                  A     Yes, I agree sir but  
17       I think that the attempt to distinguish nations  
18       from states is happening in many different parts of  
19       the world at the present time and is a clarifying  
20       distinction because there are many cases of national  
21       consciousness that are trapped within states. I mean  
22       most of the big states in the world are multi-  
23       national. They have several really quite independent  
24       national traditions and I think there is an  
25       increasing appreciation that those national traditions,  
26       the protection of them is really a part of a  
27       developing international law of human rights.

28                                  Q     Yes.

29                                  A     I think that at least  
30       my reading of current international law is not that it



R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1 has not ripened into a principle but that there is  
2 a sufficient room for interpretation and disagreement,  
3 so that one is free to either say it is a principle  
4 or it's not a principle.

5 So, the choice is up to the  
6 person who's making a decision and--

7 Q That's the best way to  
8 have it.

9 A And whichever decision  
10 one seeks to affirm, finds sufficient support within  
11 international law and therefore, it seems to me,  
12 that the choice should be in terms of the policy  
13 effects. You know, which interpretation of the  
14 several potential ones is most consistent with the  
15 kinds of values that seem to be implicit in the  
16 doctrine.

17 Q In the case of Namibia  
18 the case you argued, did the International Court  
19 hold that the South Africans should surrender their  
20 mandate because these people were entitled to self-  
21 determination on the footing that they were a majority  
22 within the Southwest Africa juridical entity or was  
23 it on the footing that the terms of the mandate  
24 required that it be surrendered at that stage?

25 Did they deal even  
26 tangentially with this question we're talking about?



R.A. Falk  
C ross-Exam by Roland

1                   A     Yes, I mean there are  
2 a series of cases, the most recent and probably most  
3 authoritative is the 1971 advisory opinion of the  
4 International Court of Justice which really --

5                   Q     That didn't arise out  
6 of the case.

7                   A     Yes, it was a continuation  
8 essentially of the same -- there's really been  
9 extended litigation which has had several phases in  
10 relation to the Court, and the case was partly pre-  
11 mised on an interpretation of what the mandate  
12 required, and it did involve the question that is  
13 before this Commission to the extent that it concluded  
14 that South Africa's views of the well-being of the  
15 Namibian people was not a sufficient discharge of  
16 its obligations to protect that well-being, and  
17 that indeed one had to look at their own conception  
18 of what well-being consisted of and that that con-  
19 ception was further reinforced by the action of the  
20 international community, the General Assembly and  
21 the Security Council. So that part also of the decision  
22 was to say that the international institutions had  
23 a law-making capacity that took precedence over  
24 the mandate and one of the resolutions of the  
25 General Assembly was to terminate the mandate because  
26 of South Africa's failure to discharge its obligations  
27 under it, and the Court upheld that termination and  
28 therefore also concluded that South Africa was  
29 illegally present in South-west Africa, as of that  
30 time.





R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

THE COMMISSIONER:  
I follow you. Sorry,

Mr. Roland, carry on.

MR. ROLAND: Q So that I understand your concept of a state as opposed to a nation, as I take it from your presentation you would say a state is a composite of nations, or has a certain interest that may be described as distinct from any one nation within that state, and that you would recognize that one of those interests might be a state economic self-determination.

A I didn't think I had recognized that.

Q Would you recognize that?

A Well, let me go back just a second and reformulate a little bit what you said. You see, it's not that, a state has a different status in the world than a nation does. A state can participate in international organizations and it can enter treaties independently with foreign states, and this may or may not pertain to a nation in different circumstances. Insofar as what is the competence that a state has, that's a question whether it's economic competence or any other kind of competence, that has to be conditioned by reference to the framework of international law within which it's operating. So that the National Government has full discretion to do economically within its territories whatever it wants, so long as it's not



R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1 violating international law when it does it. But  
2 the essence of my argument was that you can't use  
3 an economic -- the rationale of economic sovereignty  
4 to destroy a national right of self-determination  
5 on the part of people within that territory.

6 Q I see but you recognize  
7 that the state has its own unique and separate economic  
8 interest within the borders of that state that may be  
9 different than any particular nation within that  
10 state.

11 A Yes, of course.

12 Q And it would exercise  
13 those interests among other ways by the power of  
14 expropriation.

15 A But not if the power of  
16 expropriation is incompatible with the survival of  
17 a culturally distinct people.

18 Q I see, and that gets  
19 us to your peremptory norms, I take it.

20 A Well, it doesn't --

21 Q You define survival  
22 by measuring the impact of the state's economic  
23 policy on those peremptory norms.

24 A No, that's not quite  
25 right. You don't -- all the peremptory norms argument  
26 does is to say you can't extinguish that right even  
27 if the people agreed to its extinction. What I'm really  
28 saying is that you can't agree to your own genocide,  
29 and any attempt to agree to it is -- has no legal  
30 standing; that you can't renounce a national right



R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1 of self-determination if you have a distinct  
2 national identity.

3 Q To measure whether or  
4 not genocide would take place, I take it you look at  
5 what would be the impact of the state policy on the  
6 peremptory norms.

7 A No, see the peremptory  
8 norms, even if there were no peremptory norms there  
9 would still be an obligation not to carry out economic  
10 policy in such a way as to violate normal international  
11 law. You only need the -- the norm argument  
12 only says you can't change those rules.

13 Q Well, all right.  
14 I'm not sure I understand that, but let's -- perhaps  
15 you could explain to me what you mean by "peremptory  
16 norms"? I think I may be a little confused there.

17 A "Peremptory norms"  
18 are those fundamental rules such as the obligation  
19 not to wage aggressive war is often given as one  
20 example. The obligation to exercise good faith  
21 with respect to treaties that have been validly  
22 ratified. The principle of self-determination itself,  
23 and what is said is that those norms underly any other  
24 development of a legal order.

25 Q I see.

26 A And you can't do anything  
27 to change them. It is what is called natural law some-  
28 times. It exists independent of the will of man or  
29 of government, and it persists until a new peremptory  
30 norm might emerge that took precedence. That's the





R.A. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1 only way you can get rid of an old peremptory norm.

2 Q Yes. Well, I take it  
3 you would say that each nation would be composed of  
4 different characteristics that define that nation  
5 and that for instance language maybe a characteristic  
6 of one nation and not another nation.

7 A Yes.

8 Q And that in determining  
9 whether or not a state would be permitted to exercise  
10 its particular interest that might have an impact on  
11 that nation, you would first have to determine what  
12 the characteristics of that nation were.

13 A Yes, I would agree.

14 Q And one would measure  
15 the state policy impact upon those characteristics.

16 A I would agree provided  
17 you don't mean by "measure", assess in terms of some  
18 kind of quantitative comparison especially a  
19 quantitative comparison that was translated into  
20 money, because the whole point is that you're compar-  
21 ing things that are qualitatively different and you  
22 can't translate a sacred attachment to land into a  
23 dollar value.

24 Q No, but --

25 A You can say there is  
26 no sacred connection to the land, you can say it  
27 doesn't exist, or you have to say that's a qualitative  
28 attribute of the claim and it can't be somehow set  
29 off against something else.

30 Q No, but you would be



R.A. Falk

C ross-Exam by Roland

satisfied that a pipeline, for instance, could be built through the Mackenzie Valley if you were assured in measuring the impact of that construction that it didn't disturb the sacred attachment to the land.

A Yes, that of course is a factual question.

Q Yes.

A But the perceptions of those who live in the Territory are very important to that determination. Who decides whether it has an impact? Not some people off in some remote part of the country, but the people who are actually the nation through whom that pipeline is passing. It's a "Who decides?" question and is very fundamental to the doctrine of self-determination.

Q Well, the way I understand it, the onus would be on the state but the state would make the decision, having discharged the onus, not the nation.

A Well, what I tried to say in my main statement was that it seems to me that the appropriate way to approach that question is to suggest that the burden of proof is upon those that would infringe upon the claims that are being made by the people whose dependent status has been acknowledged by the state.



R. Falk  
Cross-Exam by Roland

1 Q But that burden of proof  
2 would be to satisfy the state itself, not to satisfy  
3 the nation?

4 A Yes, but remember that  
5 the state is itself accountable for acting in  
6 accordance with international law and therefore, it  
7 isn't the last judge itself except within its own  
8 internal legal system.

9 The whole notion of the  
10 Nuremberg Trials that were held after World War II  
11 suggested that even the head of a state can be  
12 held criminally accountable and executed if he dis-  
13 charges official policy in violation of fundamental  
14 rules of international law.

15 Q Well, I'm sure the  
16 Canadian Cabinet would be interested in hearing that.

17 A The Canadian re-  
18 presentative voted for the resolution endorsing the  
19 Nuremberg principles which directly declared that.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: At the  
21 U. N.?

22 A Yes, the first session  
23 of the United Nations and there was subsequently the  
24 International Law Commission, which is a technical  
25 body, formulated those principles in a much more  
26 systematic way and they were again accepted. So,  
27 they are often given as an illustration incidentally  
of a peremptory body of international law.

MR. ROLAND: Those are all  
the questions I have. Mr. Steeves, would you like to



R. Falk

1 ask some questions?

2 MR. STEEVES: I have no  
3 questions.

4 MR. ROLAND: Mr. Bayly?

5 MR. BAYLY: No questions,  
6 sir.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Professor  
8 Falk, we're dealing here with a proposal to build  
9 a gas pipeline which would be the largest project  
10 ever undertaken by private enterprise, we're told,  
11 and the establishment of an energy corridor throughout  
12 an Arctic and sub-Arctic environment.

13 There are other peoples  
14 around the North Pole who share the--are in the same  
15 situation as the Dene and the Inuit and do you know  
16 whether there has been any acceptance of these  
17 principles in the Soviet Union or in the Scandinavian  
18 countries, in which I include Denmark, which Greenland  
19 I think is an integrated part now.

20 A I really don't know  
21 the answer to that question. The Soviet Union has  
22 not been very kind to its nationalities, so that I  
23 wouldn't be very optimistic.

24 Q Yes, I wouldn't be  
25 very optimistic either because the Chukchi who are  
26 people racially connected to the Eskimos of Canada  
27 and living in Siberia, have not be accorded the  
28 right to self-determination, nor I dare say even the  
29 right to urge it. Okay. Let us just return before  
30 you leave to the situation in South Africa. That is





R. Falk

1 a classic case of self-determination in the sense that  
2 it arises--well, I don't suppose it does arise as a  
3 colonial--it's not a colonial possession which is  
4 seeking to overthrow the mother country or anything  
5 like that.

6 It is simply a case of majority,  
7 a majority seeking to rule the state. That's  
8 certainly something that is the same thing as self-  
9 determination in a sense but not quite the same thing  
10 we're talking about.

11 A South Africa, of course,  
12 had at one time been part of the British Empire and  
13 sort of split off, so it has a kind of mixed heritage  
14 which is partly colonial. In other words, the  
15 original colonial elite became domesticated in  
16 South Africa and split off from the mother country so  
17 to speak, and established then its own independent  
18 state--

19 Q Well, just as Rhodesia  
20 has done?

21 A Yes, and just as the  
22 United States did really. You know, United States  
23 has a similar--originally a bunch of colonies that  
24 split off successfully from the mother country and  
25 then established its own--

26 Q But in the United States,  
27 the white people were a majority.

28 A But that's what I mean.  
29 That makes it then--what one has in South Africa is  
30 the interplay between the colonial antecedents and



R. Falk

1 the fact that it's a minority population that has  
2 appropriated not only all the power and wealth but  
3 also almost all the influence and prestige within  
4 the society. So, that it's primarily viewed--I think  
5 it's a problem of racism rather than of colonialism.

6 THE COMMISSIONER:

7 Yes. Right. Well, do  
8 you have any re-examination, Mr. Bell?

9 MR. BELL: No re-examination,  
10 sir.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thank  
12 you very much, Professor Falk. If there's anything  
13 you'd like to add before you leave, we're all at  
14 your disposal.

15 A Well, I thank you for  
16 the opportunity to take part in the hearings. I do  
17 feel it is one of those historic opportunities to  
18 take a step forward in trying to define some crucial  
19 rights that have been neglected for a long time and  
20 I wish the Commission and you personally, <sup>good fortune</sup> in discharging  
21 that task. Thank you.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, thank  
23 you Professor Falk. We appreciate your coming all  
24 this way.

25 (WITNESS ASIDE)

26 MR. ROLAND: Sir, at this  
27 time I think we could recall Mr. Bruce.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

29 DONALD BRUCE, resumed:

30 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Bruce,  
31 I'm glad to see you back. I think Mr. Steeves and--



D. Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Steeves

MR. ROLAND: Yes, Mr. Steeves?

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES:

MR. STEEVES: Mr. Bruce, when I heard your evidence this morning I was going to ask you some questions about self-determination and I'm not sure whether or not it hasn't all been said but I do want to return to your paper just for a moment and I want to try and understand what your concept of self-determination for the indigenous people of the north is so far as alcohol is concerned.

In your second recommendation or statement of implication on page thirteen, you say this:

"The Dene and the Inuit have to determine their own philosophy and policy with respect to alcohol. This is an extremely important point as policy decisions are determined from the basic philosophy",  
and then you go on and express another thought. I understand that could be a statement by you that this problem must be resolved by the Dene and the Inuit.

I understand it to be a statement more important. I understand it to be a statement by you that policy decisions have to be made by the people that are affected by them and not by outsiders. Am I correct in that?

A That's correct.

Q I'm not sure then what you mean when you say the Government of the Northwest





D. Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Territories must re-examine their philosophy with  
2 respect to the availability of alcohol with the  
3 Dene and Inuit and come to some agreement with them  
4 as to policy.

5 Are you saying in that state-  
6 ment that so far as the decisions that are made by  
7 the Dene and the Inuit about liquor, they must consult  
8 with the Territorial Government and try and get  
9 those policies implemented by that government?

10 A Notwithstanding the  
11 previous witness, it being a very tough act to  
12 follow; I think what I was attempting to get at there  
13 was really several points and the first one being  
14 that there has been some evidence and there has  
15 been some statements made that the Territorial  
16 Government is not recognized as the government of,  
17 for instance, the Dene.

18 If that is the case and  
19 if there is any likelihood of some changes in the  
20 political and governmental structure, then what I  
21 was attempting to do here is to try to bring about  
22 a melding of the three groups of people, because  
23 certainly the point of view that has been expressed  
24 by the Territorial Government, that seems to--you  
25 know, it's really a guess on my part, the policy  
26 that has been made has been made from a point of view  
27 of happenchance and not really well thought out,  
28 at least not from the perspective of prevention.

29 Largely it's our own white  
30 cultural perspective that that policy is made under and



D. Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Steeves

3 it seems to me that there is--as a matter of fact  
4 I know, that there is a distinct difference in the  
5 value systems between native people and white people  
6 and if that point hasn't been made, you know, I think  
7 we've missed the boat.

8 It seems to me that those  
9 differences have <sup>to</sup> be articulated and they need to  
10 be articulated by the native people themselves and  
11 somehow they have to get together with the Territorial  
12 administration, whatever form it takes, either in  
13 its immediate sense or whatever it is in the future,  
14 and have a melding.  
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D. Bruce  
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q As a witness you're  
2 trying to deal with the reality of today and alcohol  
3 as a problem in the north rather than how it might  
4 be in the future. Is that what you're saying?

5 A Yes.

6 MR. STEEVES: Thanks very  
7 much.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Did some-  
9 one else have some more questions?

10 MR. ROLAND: No, I think  
11 that concludes today's evidence, sir.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Well,  
13 thank you again, Mr. Bruce. Let me just repeat that  
14 I found your evidence very interesting and very help-  
15 ful. I'm glad we don't have to make any more demands  
16 on your time.

17 A Thank you very much,  
18 sir.

19 (WITNESS ASIDE)

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Well,  
21 that is it, is it?

22 MR. ROLAND: Yes sir. We  
23 recommence next Tuesday and on Tuesday there will  
24 be three panels, the first will be the Territorial  
25 Council, followed by a panel put forward by Mr.  
26 Bayly from Alaska, and then followed by the next  
27 panel to be presented by the Association of  
28 Municipalities.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.  
30 So we're moving along very nicely and thank you all



again for your co-operation.

We'll adjourn to Tuesday  
at 10:30.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO SEPTEMBER 21, 1976)



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